in another village it is the invariable practice to pay rent by the *dānābandi* system. The method is settled at each crop by mutual agreement, though naturally custom has a considerable part in determining which method shall be adopted. When the two parties quarrel, the tenants hold out for the *batāi* system, because it gives them opportunities for misappropriating the grain in the field before it is divided; and, on the other hand, the landlord strives for the *dānābandi* system, both because he is better protected against peculation, and because he can try to secure an excessive appraisement.

Customary allowances.

Whether the *dānābandi* or the *batāi* system prevails, a number of customary allowances have to be made out of the grain before the landlord's and tenant's share is determined, the only difference being that in the case of appraisement the amounts given in the form of allowances are calculated instead of being actually weighed. These allowances vary greatly, as almost every village has its own custom or *lagan*, and in some villages more, and in some less, is given or allowed to the landlords, tenants and labourers. When the crops are cut and the sheaves are being harvested each day, the first deduction made is that of *mazdūrī* or the labourers' share, those belonging to the village being paid at a higher rate than outside labourers. In some villages the rate allowed is 1 sheaf in 21 for outside labour, and 1 in 16 for the regular village servants; in other villages the rate is as high as 1 out of every 11 or 12 sheaves for village servants. In addition to this, they are allowed a daily diet allowance (called *lohrā chhakautī*) of grain in the ear, which is made over to the tenant to disburse as he likes. This allowance also varies greatly in quantity. In some cases, it amounts to 5 seers per day for an outsider and 16 seers per day for a village servant; but elsewhere each cooly gets 2 seers per day, or sometimes 10 seers for each 21 sheaves cut, and in other places about 6 seers per day. In some villages, again, outside coolies get only half the allowance. After the labourers' share has been deducted, the blacksmith, carpenter, village washerman, etc., get their shares from each tenant. The *barhi* (carpenter) and *lohār* (blacksmith) generally get 1 *bojhā* or sheaf, and the *chamār* (cobbler), *haijām* (barber), *dhobī* (washerman), *bhāt* (village bard) each half a *bojhā* while even the beggars are given an

allowance, called *bhichchhā* at the rate of ½ seer or one seer each.

After this the remaining sheaves are threshed and the grain is collected into one heap and weighed; and then the village officials are allowed their shares (*rasūm*) out of the undivided grain, the *patwārī* (accountant) receiving 4 chittacks (8 oz.), in each maund, the *gorait* (watchman) and *barāhil* (peon) 2 chittacks each, and the *kumhār* (potter) and *tahalu* (office servant) 1 chittack each. In some villages, however, the *patwāri* and *gumāshta* or landlord's agent get 8 chittacks between them, and the *barāhil*, *gorait*, *tahalu*, *kumhār* and *katwā* (weighman) each get 2 chittacks; sometimes too the *badhwār* or field-watcher, gets 2 chittacks, and the weighman has a perquisite of 4 chittacks called *partāl*.

The customary concessions are then made to the tenants; sometimes, under the name of *chārseri* or *doseri*, 4 seers in one maund are allowed to high castes and 2 seers to low castes, or 2 seers only are given to the higher and 1 seer to the lower castes; sometimes, under the name of *bishunprit*, a portion of the heap, estimated at about 2 seers to each maund, is portioned off for the tenant. Then the remaining grain is divided between the tenant and landlord according to the proportion customary in the village; and finally a further concession, called *neg*, is made to the landlord, 1¼ seer per maund for each high-caste and 2½ seers for each low-caste tenant being deducted from the cultivator's heap and transferred to that belonging to the proprietor. These rates differ in each village; and there are often three or four classes of tenants in receipt of allowances, the *jeth raiyats* or headmen being the most favoured and the lower castes the least. In some villages Goālās, who supply milk and *ghī*, are charged a lower rate, in others a toll, called *chungi*, is levied at the rate of 2½ seers for every 21 sheaves cut by outside coolies; and a charge called *passrā* is also sometimes made, *i.e.*, in the case of each tenant whose grain exceeds 5 or, in some cases, 10 maunds, 5 seers are made over to the proprietor's heap. Finally, the *gorait* gets a *pabōi* of 4 chittacks per maund, and the village priest another 4 chittacks from the proprietor's heap.

These archaic customs appear to be survivals of the primitive village organization. The *pātwarī*, who takes the largest share, is practically the village solicitor, as he writes any deeds that are

required in the village, and acts as scribe generally to the community. The result is that the tenants, being illiterate men, are as a rule dependent upon him for their titles to any land they possess. The *gumāshta* has the responsibility of the irrigation of the crops, he has to settle disputes between the different tenants as to water, etc., and he also heads them when they have to protect their rights by a *levee en masse* as well as in the litigation which inevitably ensues. The *barāhils* and *goraits* are expected by the tenants to watch the crops and prevent grazing, and the artisans such as the carpenter, blacksmith, etc., are similarly indispensable members of the village community, who by old custom and tradition are bound to serve the villagers in the needs of every-day life.

THE *Nagdi* SYSTEM.

Side by side with the *bhāoli* system is that known as *nagdi*, *i.e.*, the payment of rents in cash. These systems are not localized or confined to particular tracts, but co-exist all over the district, and almost every cultivator holds some land under both systems. Certain crops however are nearly always cultivated under the *bhāoli* system, such as rice; and cash rents are invariably paid for other crops, such as poppy, sugarcane, and garden produce. Money rents are, in fact, paid for all land growing crops which require special care and expense; and this is generally the case with homestead land, as it is peculiarly adapted for the growth of special crops, and the cultivator can cultivate it entirely by his own means.

Nagdi tenures.

In the case of cash rents there are two special kinds of tenures, called *shikmī* and *chakath*. A *shikmī* holding is one held on a cash rent in perpetuity, and the term is said to be derived from the fact that a former Mahārājā of Tekāri introduced the system and fixed his tenants' rents for ever in sicca rupees. Another theory is that the word is derived from *shikam*, the Persian for belly, a term applied to the rich land held under this tenure, because it is generally the best in the village, usually yields two crops, and is the main source from which the cultivator obtains his livelihood. *Chakath* lands are those temporarily settled at cash rents for a period of years. The term is specially applied to temporary settlements of waste or uncultivated lands, made for a limited number of years, with the object of reclaiming them or bringing them under cultivation. Such settlements, however, are made not only of waste lands, but also of lands which are unpopular

and will not be taken on any other terms, owing to the difficulties of irrigation or natural unfertility. The landlord reserves to himself the right of demanding a produce-rent on the expiry of the settlement, but in practice this right is seldom enforced.

Parān tenures.

Another tenure peculiar to Gayā is that called *paran*, which appears to occupy an intermediate position between the *bhāoli* and *nagdi* systems. The *paran* or *paran pheri* tenure is one under which paddy land, held on the *bhāoli* system, and suited to the growth of sugarcane or poppy, is settled at a specially high rate of rent for growing either of these crops. When the sugarcane or poppy is harvested, the land reverts to the *bhāoli* system and is sown with paddy. Thus the land held under this tenure grows two crops, sugarcane and poppy, during the first two years, the former being on the ground for 14, and the latter for 3 months, and in the third year rice is grown. Each block is accordingly sown in turn with sugarcane, poppy and rice, the rent being paid in cash while the land is under the first two crops, and in kind when it is under rice. The *raison d être* of this arrangement is simply that in Gayā cash rents are invariably paid for land growing sugarcane and poppy, while produce-rents are nearly always paid for land growing rice.

Merits of the *Bhāoli* system.

There can be little doubt that, under present conditions, the *bhāoli* system is absolutely indispensable for the greater part of the cultivation. On it depends the system of indigenous irrigation which is essential to the prosperity of the country and to its protection against famine; and it is not too much to say that, if it were abolished, *pains* and *āhars* would not be constructed and the existing works would fall into disrepair. It is true that the landowner now-a-days does not do his duty in keeping the *pains* clear of silt and in maintaining the *āhars* properly; but he would do it still less if it were not that he shares in the produce of the land. On the other hand, the system has grave defects, not the least of which is that it engenders slovenly cultivation. The incentives to industry are not so strong as in the case of *nagdī* lands; for the tenant, receiving only half the produce, has only half the usual motives for exertion and will not devote the same time and trouble to improving the land. The result is that while the *nagdi* lands are cultivated almost like gardens, the *bhāoli* lands are comparatively neglected. This is no

new feature, as 100 years ago it was so noticeable that Buchanan Hamilton remarked :— "This system of levying the rent by a division of crops has produced a slovenly and careless cultivation. The tenant is not pushed for his rent ; and his great object, in place of cultivating well, is to diminish the expense of cultivation. From this a very great loss arises to the landlord and still more to the public. Almost every tenant, however, has some land for which he pays a money rent and on this is bestowed all his care, by rearing on it rich crops, by manuring, and by frequently repeated ploughing and hoeing. The rent is much higher than the share which the landlord receives on the division of crops and the farmers who have the largest proportion of this kind of land are in the easiest circumstances." The superior cultivation of cash-paying lands is as apparent at the present day ; all produce above what suffices to pay the rent is pure profit, and the result is that they receive the cultivator's best care and labour and all his available manure.

It is obvious, moreover, that the complicated method of appraisement and division must result in a vast amount of peculation and mutual friction. Endless disputes are the rule, and the apportionment of the crop furnishes many opportunities for fraud and oppression. In a small estate, where the petty zamīndār can look after his own fields and see the crops divided or check the appraisement personally, the system is not so open to objection. The small proprietor is often a resident of the village and therefore amenable to public opinion ; he is so directly dependent on his tenants that he has to keep on good terms with them ; and his income is so vitally affected by the irrigation works that in his own interests he is bound to keep them up. The defects of the system are more apparent in large estates. If the method of *bātai* is followed, the opportunities for fraud are very great, and if the *dānābandi*, both landlords and tenants are at the mercy of the underlings whom the former has to maintain. The estimates they make cannot very well be checked ; if the *gumāshtas* side with the ryots, it is easy for them to cheat the proprietor ; if they are not on good terms with the ryots, they can grossly over-estimate, and they can always bring pressure to bear by neglecting to appraise until the crops are ruined by the delay. The result is that the subordinates can enrich themselves at the expense of both parties, and the

landlord is often forced to introduce the middleman, as a preferable alternative to entertaining a great staff of servants, who are an expense to himself and a fruitful source of oppression to the tenants. Here again the estate suffers. The farmer has no permanent interest in the property, he endeavours to squeeze out of it as much as he can during the period of his lease, and the tenants are oppressed. The injury done to the interests of the proprietors themselves is scarcely less; and the state of the 9 annas share of the Tekāri Rāj, when the Court of Wards assumed charge of it in 1886, shows how great this injury is and how strong is the tendency to lease out villages in this way. No less than 638 villages were leased out temporarily, and only 65 were under direct management; the irrigation works on which the crops almost entirely depended had been much neglected and were ineffective; and the productive power of the lands held by the *thīkādārs* or lessees had greatly deteriorated. Similar results were witnessed at the beginning of last century by Buchanan Hamilton, who wrote of this same splendid property:—"Perhaps 15 annas of the estates are let by an actual division of the crop. As it would be impossible for the Rājā to superintend such a collection, without suffering the most enormous losses, he has farmed out the greater part of his rents, and this has given rise to considerable complaints of oppression; nor is the cultivation on his estates so good as might have been expected from the money he has expended in constructing reservoirs, canals and roads. Had his estate been let for a money rent, it might, with his prudence, have been managed by his stewards entirely without loss, and the tenants would have had no cause for complaint, while the rents would have been a stimulus to industry."

In any case, the system gives tremendous power to the landlords over their ryots. The control of the irrigation works places the peasantry in more or less complete subjection to the landlord, who can, and very often does, exact most unfair terms from them. The result is that even where the landlords maintain irrigation works, they do not always do so at their own cost; that they often make their tenants labour without charge, or else appropriate a larger share of the produce than they should according to the strict principles of the system, and that the tenants are markedly subservient to them. There is however a

steady tendency to convert produce-rents to cash rents—a change noted by Buchanan Hamilton 100 years ago, which has been accelerated by the policy of the Court of Wards in the Tekāri Rāj during the last 20 years. In some cases the produce-rents were commuted in whole villages, and in others small plots were settled on cash rents (called *chakath*); altogether the rents of 29,314 *bīghas* were so converted during the term of the Courts' management. It was decided, however, that such commutation was not to be carried out except where the irrigation system was complete, as in the area irrigated from the canals, or where no further improvements were possible in that dependent on indigenous irrigation. The process is slow, but it is developing as the tenantry and the more enlightened landlords begin to see the disadvantages of such a complicated method of rent recovery. The Son canal system, which affords the ryot a certain supply of water independent of the zamindārs, has done much in this direction; and the tendency is for the ryot to pay produce-rents only for those lands in which cultivation depends entirely on large works of irrigation constructed and kept up by their landlords. Here the system is justified by necessity, and is appropriate, if fairly worked; but where cultivation depends on large irrigation works which the landlords to not maintain, it is an anomaly which fortunately is gradually disappearing.

In concluding this sketch of the *bhāoli* system, the following remarks of a former Collector of Gaya may be quoted:—"Considerable misapprehension appears to exist in regard to the system of payment of produce-rents prevalent in this district, known as the *bhāoli* system, which is chiefly due, as far as I can judge from what I have seen written on the subject, to the fact that the actual working of the system in practice on the spot has not been sufficiently known or distinguished from the theoretical working of the system in its general and broad lines. Although the peculiar system has, no doubt, lasted in this district by reason of the necessity which underlies it, viz., the necessity of the landlord (or the *capitalist*) keeping up the comparatively expensive works of irrigation, without which cultivation could not be successfully carried on throughout a great part of the district, it is not now, it will be found from actual observation, the custom of every landlord to make new works of irrigation, or to maintain the old

ones in good order entirely at their own expense. It may be the traditional custom; and the Wards' estates in the district, and Government, in respect of their own estates held under direct management, have adopted this custom, and have thus done much to keep it alive. The fact, too, that the custom is observed in these estates, the administration of which comes so prominently before the officers of Government has done much to make it conspicuous. But, as a result of this, much that has been written in regard to the *bhāoli* system in this district has emanated from a perhaps too exclusive experience of those classes of estates.

"The system is advantageous to a powerful and unscrupulous landlord, as against a poor and weak tenantry, and keeps up, or fosters the existence of, so many middlemen and encourages so much dispute, peculation and dishonesty on all sides as to stamp it unmistakably as bad. I have never heard an educated or a sensible native of high or low class praise it *in se*. It is the fact that it favours the rich and powerful that has caused it to maintain its position so long; and I have no doubt that the poverty and serf-like status of many of the tenantry in this district, that have been noticed from time to time, are the result in great measure of this system."

CHAPTER XII.

RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES.

RENTS. THERE are no statistics available showing the rates of rent prevalent throughout the whole district, but the rates as certained during the years 1893—98 in the course of the survey and settlement of the Tekāri Wards estate, the Government estates and the Belkhara Mahāl may be regarded as applicable to the district as a whole. The area cadastrally surveyed was 582 square miles containing over 660,000 plots and 65,800 tenancies, and the rents and status of 59,334 tenants were attested. This area is equal in extent to about one-eighth of the total area of the district, and as the villages concerned are scattered over all parts of Gayā, the statistics obtained are fairly representative of the whole of the district. At the same time, it should be remembered that the statistics showing the incidence of rent per acre of cash-paying land are rendered of less value by the fact that so much of the settled area is held on produce rents, and that cash rents are paid only for the most fertile lands, to which the ryot devotes special attention.

It was ascertained that the rate paid by ryots at fixed rates in the Tekāri estate was as high as Rs. 4-9 while in the other two estates it varied between Re. 1-8 and Re. 1-12 per acre. The rate payable by occupancy ryots was found to be Rs. 3-8 per acre in the Government estates, Rs. 4-6 in the Tekāri estate, and Rs. 5-14 in the Belkhara Mahāl, this variation being a measure of the relative productiveness of the three estates. Non-occupancy ryots pay the highest rents in the Belkhara Mahāl, viz., Rs. 5-15 per acre, while the rate is only Re. 1-10 to Rs. 2-8 in the other two estates, where only the worst land or land of inferior quality is settled with new and non-resident tenants. The average rent paid by under-ryots was found to be Re. 1-15-11 in the Tekāri

estate, Rs. 3-10-11 in the Government estates and Rs. 6-1-10 in the Belkhara Mahâl. In the Tekâri estate the area held on cash rents is small (22 per cent.), and no inference can be drawn from the low rate of rent; but in the other two estates the rates are very little above the rates paid by occupancy ryots—a fact which supports the conclusion that there is very little competition for available land in this district.

Taking the *parganas* according to their fertility, it was found that in the most fertile tract the average rate of rent paid by settled ryots possessing occupancy rights, who form a large proportion of the tenantry, was Rs. 5-12 per acre; in the second of the tracts mentioned in Chapter VIII it was Rs. 4-7; in the third tract it was Rs. 3-2-3; and in the fourth tract of fertility it was Rs. 2-7-1. In the case of non-occupancy ryots, the rent rates bore little relation to the general fertility of the *pargana*, as the area of the land held by these ryots is so small that the rate depends entirely on the quality of a few isolated plots.

The rents paid vary very largely according to the class of soil cultivated and the crops grown, and the following rates of rent per acre may be regarded as fairly general; paddy lands, if fit for only a single crop, Re. 1-8 to Rs. 8, and those yielding a double crop, Rs. 3 to Rs 10; lands on which wheat, barley, gram, pulses and oil-seeds are grown, Rs. 2 to Rs. 8; sugarcane and poppy lands, Rs. 3 to Rs. 16; lands growing *bhadoi* crops, such as maize, *marua* or *jowâr*, Re. 1-8 to Rs. 5; and lands growing potatoes, Rs. 4 to Rs. 16.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton estimated the average rate of rent at the beginning of last century at from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per acre, and there can be no doubt that the increase during the last 100 years has been very large. On the other hand, the price of grain has risen even more during the last 30 years, but cash rents have not risen to a corresponding extent; and the rise in the value of the produce has outstripped whatever enhancement may have been made in the cash rents.

Statistics of the wages paid for certain selected classes of labour and the rates current during the decade 1893—1902 will be found in the Statistical Appendix. It is interesting to compare these figures with those of 100 years ago given by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. At that time the usual daily allowance for a labourer

WAGES.

engaged in ploughing was 3 seers of grain, or in some places from 1½ to 2 pice, with half a seer of the unboiled porridge called *sattu*. This wage, representing in English money about one penny, was earned by nine hours' work. The annual wages earned by a poor family of three persons were Rs. 26-8; and though one rupee represented 156 lbs. of maize, or other coarse but wholesome grain, the whole living expenses of the family, including clothes, had to be met from this sum. An estimate of the earnings of a family from Nawāda, where wages were still lower, gave as the annual gain, represented in money, Rs. 22-1-6.

The rise in the rate of wages has apparently not kept pace with the general rise in the price of food-grains, especially for the lower classes of labour, and the village craftsman earns about the same year after year. In the towns, however, where there is a special demand for it, skilled labour undoubtedly commands a higher price than formerly, and the carpenter or smith, who earned only 4½ annas a day, now gets a wage of 8 annas per diem. Among masons, carpenters and blacksmiths the wage shows an upward tendency; the silversmith charges a higher rate for his workmanship; the shoe-maker and the tailor have raised their tariff; and there is a similar tendency among domestic servants. The rise is small and gradual, but is observable all the same; and it appears to be due to the opening of new lines of railway and the resultant communication with large centres of industry.

Outside urban areas the wages of labour maintain much the same level from year to year; and in the case of unskilled labour their measure is usually the minimum amount required to afford means of subsistence. Fortunately, however, wages in the villages are usually paid wholly or partly in kind; even the village artisan receives grain for the services he renders; and the field-labourer generally gets the whole of his wage in one or other of the inferior grains. The rates of the wages thus paid in kind vary in different localities, but the following are said to be the general rates. At harvest time the village labourers get 1 out of every 16 sheaves cut and outside labourers 1 out of every 21 sheaves, in addition to a diet allowance known as *lohrā* and *chhakauti*, while ploughmen receive 1 out of every 16 sheaves cut, besides the daily wages paid to him at ploughing

time. Among the village artisans, the carpenter and blacksmith each get 5 local seers of the *rabi* crop and 1 *bojhā* or sheaf of paddy per *hār* (a holding measuring about 10 *bīghas*), at the time of harvesting; the cobbler (*chāmar*) receives one *bojhā* per *har*; the barber 5 seers of *rabi* and 5 seers of paddy per head shaved; and the washerman (*dhobī*) half a *bojhā* per head in a tenant's family. The Māli and Tamoli (betel-leaf seller) each get one *bojhā* per tenant; the Goāla, or cowherd, one local maund of rice and an equal quantity of *rabi* plus one *bojhā* per *har*; the Badhwār, or crop-watcher, a quarter seer per local maund of grain produced; and the Bhāt, or village bard, half a *bojhā* per tenant. This system is particularly suited to an agricultural country like Gayā, as it has the advantage of being unaffected by any rise in the price of food-grains. Whatever the fluctuations in the price of these in the market, the labourer's wage remains the same.

PRICES.

A statement of the prices current in each subdivision during the years 1893—1902 is given in the Statistical Appendix. They show an extraordinary advance on those obtaining a little more than a century* before, when even the finest kind of rice sold at 31 to 44 seers and paddy at 95 to 129 seers per rupee, while the price of wheat ranged from 55 to 64 seers and of gram from 72 to 104 seers per rupee. The prices of grain have risen enormously during the last hundred years; but on the other hand there has been a very great growth in the income of all classes, and during the last generation the development of communications, has had the effect of levelling prices over larger and larger areas. Ten years ago there was only one line of railway running through the north of the district, but within the last few years three more lines have been added, which tap the district in all directions, and the network of main roads and feeder roads admirably supplement the work of the railway. There is consequently less variation in prices between various parts of the district than formerly, when the railway only traversed the north of the district and the prices of foodgrains varied directly with the distance of the markets from it. Besides this, the vast majority of labour is of an agricultural character and is paid in

*For a list of the prices current in 1781 and 1782, two average years, *see* Early English Administration of Behar, by J. R. Hand, pp. 61-62.

kind, and immemorial custom has fixed the amount thereof, so that the high prices of grain affect a large section of the community less than would otherwise be the case. To this it should be added that the rural population keep large stores of grain, and are, therefore, to a certain extent protected from the distress consequent on scarcity and the rising price of food.

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The subject of the material condition of the people of Gayā has attracted a considerable amount of attention owing to the somewhat startling picture of their poverty presented by Dr. Grierson in his Notes on the District of Gayā. This account formed the subject of a question in Parliament, and advantage was taken of the survey and settlement operations then in progress in the district to institute a special enquiry into the economic condition of the poorer classes. A detailed criticism of the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Grierson will be found in Mr. Stevenson-Moore's Report on the Material Condition of Small Agriculturists and Labourers in Gayā, and it will be sufficient here to summarize the results of his exhaustive investigations.

According to Dr. Grierson, 70 per cent. of the agricultural holdings, unaided by supplemental sources of income, do not support their cultivators, *i.e.*, the net profit does not give a family of six persons sufficient clothing and two full meals a day; while all persons of the labouring classes and 10 per cent. of the cultivating and artizan classes may be considered as insufficiently clothed or insufficiently fed, or both. "It is not suggested," he added, "that this large number of human beings is as a rule in actual want of food, or has never more than one meal a day. In the majority of cases two meals a day form the rule, but they have often to curtail the number of their meals for a few days at a time to enable them to tide over difficulties." The results obtained by Mr. Stevenson-Moore disclose a very different state of affairs. He found that the conditions depicted by Dr. Grierson, namely, that 70 per cent. of the holdings do not support the cultivators, might perhaps apply to the most unfertile tract in Gayā, or to 8 per cent. of the cultivated area of the district; but that approximately only 25 per cent. of the holdings in the entire district were insufficient to support their cultivators in comfort without supplementary sources of income. Generally speaking,

the cultivating labourers were found to be well off, the average income per head falling under Rs. 15 only in the most infertile tract, where it was Rs. 14-6. Among landless labourers the average income per head ranged from Rs. 14 to Rs. 18·2, assuming that they worked full time throughout the year. If steady, industrious and fully employed, they can earn nearly Rs. 15 a head, which would amply cover the cost of living in comfort. This however is a maximum, for though they are supposed to get work for nine months in the year, it is doubtful whether they get it for so long a period. On the other hand, a large portion of them are *kamiyās* or bond servants, and as such are supported by their masters even in times of adversity.

The general conclusion at which Mr. Stevenson-Moore arrives is as follows :—"Dr. Grierson's finding that the labouring classes are insufficiently nourished can be accepted so far as it concerns landless labourers. That 10 per cent. of the artizans are similarly situated is little better than conjecture, but I am not prepared to deny it. There is no reason whatever to believe that 10 per cent. of pure cultivators suffer from want, but it is possible 10 per cent. of cultivating labourers are in that condition. From these premises the result is obtained that 20·86 per cent. of the entire population, or about 425,000 people, as against Dr. Grierson's estimate of 45 per cent. of the population amounting to one million people, are so circumstanced that periods occur during the year when they are not able to take two full meals a day." These statistics were based on enquiries conducted by a trained staff, which had means of attaining accuracy which Dr. Grierson had not; and they may be accepted as more reliable than those obtained by him. The result, however, is to show how large a proportion of the population do not possess an income of Rs. 15 a year, which, as Dr. Grierson subsequently explained, may be regarded as "the sum required to give a well-to-do native of the lower classes, with a fairly high standard of comfort, plenty to eat and drink and a sufficient supply of clothing and the usual luxuries."

Indebtedness.

The indebtedness of the cultivating classes is however small; and Mr. Stevenson-Moore found that the incidence of debts per head varied from Rs. 6·6 in the case of families holding under 10 *bīghas* to Rs. 11 in the case of those holding over 10 *bīghas*.

The extent of the cultivator's indebtedness in Gayā is, in fact, in direct proportion to his prosperity; the bigger the cultivator, the greater his credit, and the higher his expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies. The ryot generally keeps a certain amount of grain in store, but he is often improvident, and the general custom of the country makes heavy expenditure on social ceremonies obligatory. For these reasons, agriculture, like other industries, is supported on credit, and the *mahājan* is as essential to the village as the ploughman. Some of the ryot's debt is owed to the shop-keeper who sells grain, or to the *mahājan* or landlord for advances to purchase food while the harvest is ripening, and such accounts are usually closed when the harvest is reaped; some is contracted, more particularly if the harvest promises to be a bumper one, for the purpose of marriages; and some debts are business transactions closely connected with agriculture, *e.g.*, for the purchase of seed, ploughs or cattle, or for extending cultivation or making agricultural improvements. As Dr. Grierson says:—"So far as Gayā is concerned, the much-abused *mahājan* is much more of a banker than money-lender, and advances grain during the hot weather and rains to be repaid at harvest time. He is the Eastern substitute for occidental thrift. He saves the ryot the trouble of saving for himself, and makes him pay highly for it;—that is all. Debts are, of course, contracted for marriages and the like, but these are rarely large in amount, and the debtors are generally able to pay off the principal besides paying the heavy rate of interest."

Agricultural classes.

Not only have the cultivators better credit than the labouring classes, but being in the habit of keeping grain for home consumption, they are in a better position than the non-agricultural class when grain is scarce and prices are high. The greater portion of the land is held on the *bhāoli* system, and the tenant has not therefore suffered from enhancement of rents, as the proportion of produce taken by the landlord does not alter; while the price obtained for the surplus of his own share which is available for sale has considerably increased. Many parts of the district are moreover capable of greater agricultural development, and the incidence of population (437 per square mile) is the lowest in the Patna Division. In the south of the district it is very much lower than this, and there is much waste land which could be brought under

the plough if only people to cultivate it were available. Many of the cultivators are even now in possession of more land than they can cultivate, and owing to the absence of competition they have generally not been disturbed in the enjoyment of their rights. On the whole, they have more resources than any other class, and are probably more comfortably off than the cultivators in the densely inhabited districts of North Bihār.

Labouring classes.

As regards the labouring classes, the village artizans who never go out of the village form a recognized part of the village community and are indirectly supported by agriculture. As in other parts of Bihār, the lot of unskilled landless labourers is a hard one. They own no land, grow no crops, and depend entirely on the wages of labour. Spending what they earn from day to day, they have very little to pawn or sell, and they are the first to feel the pinch of scarcity when any failure of the crops occurs. On the whole, however, they are better off than formerly, to judge from the greater number of utensils and ornaments they possess. This improvement of condition may probably be ascribed to the fact that large numbers of labourers migrate year after year at the beginning of the cold season, for temporary employment on roads, tanks and railways, in the harvest field, and in other miscellaneous employments, returning again at the end of hot weather in time for the agricultural operations which commence with the bursting of the monsoon.

Kamiyās.

Side by side with this class of free labourers there is a section of the community known as *kamiyās, i.e*, labourers who sell themselves to a master and whose position is that of mere serfs. The *kamiyā* probably dates back to the time when the Aryans overran the country and found the district inhabited by low castes of aboriginal cultivators, suitable labourers for a military aristocracy, to whom it would have been a severe degradation to handle the plough. Formerly the *kamiyā* used to sell both himself and his heirs into bondage for a lump sum down; but this practice having been declared illegal, he now hires himself, in consideration of an advance or loan to serve for 100 years or more till the money is repaid. They are not allowed to work for any one but their master, except with his permission, and have their food supplied by him. Their position is in many ways little, if at all, worse than that of the free labourers, as they are not in want of food

even in lean years, whereas the ordinary labourer is the first to suffer in times of distress. Their master is bound to feed them whatever the price of foodgrains may be, and if he neglects this duty, the *kamiyā* is released from his bond and is at liberty to leave his service. On the other hand, their degradation is extreme and the disadvantages of their lot are very heavy, as shown in the following description written by Mr. Stevenson-Moore :—"This is the one class in Gayā that is entitled to the sympathies of the philanthropist. The members of the landless labouring class, other than *kamiyās*, wander from village to village in search of work. They are free, and if they get the opportunity for bettering their condition, can seize it, but the *kamiyā* can never have such an opportunity. He is attached to a master who does not give him more than sufficient to keep him in good working order. If he deserts, he is driven back by public opinion. He is ill-fed and of poor physique. When not required by his master, he is allowed to earn what he can by *pā/ki*-carrying, wood-cutting and other extraneous means ; but so degraded is his nature that he usually dissipates one-fourth of his income in drink. The only compensation he derives is that in times of famine his master cannot allow him to die of starvation. He can neither profit by his industry nor suffer from his indolence. This system of serfdom is no innovation. It is as old as the history of Gayā, and I should imagine that it is on the decrease."

General aspects.

We have then at the bottom of the social scale the landless labourers, who are miserably poor and are often pinched for food. The more degraded members of this class are condemned by immemorial custom to a state of serfdom ; and though the demand for labour is very considerable and the supply is not excessive, they seem to have little desire for emancipation. Higher in the social grade come the cultivating and landholding classes, whose income has increased considerably of late years. The great bulk of the ryots enjoy a fixity of tenure which leaves them a fair share in the produce, and the cultivators of small holdings, a class but little superior to the labourer, have benefited greatly by the general rise in prices. The railways and roads place every part within easy reach of the markets and enable them to dispose of their surplus produce with ease, while irrigation renders a large portion of the population independent of the seasons. Since 1866

famine has never taken a real hold on the district, and even the famine of 1897, which was probably the most severe famine in Bihār since 1770, did not affect the people much. The cultivating class have, moreover, a resource unknown to the ryots in Bengal proper in the cultivation of poppy, which plays an important part in the rural economy of Gayā. Those who undertake to grow it receive allowances in cash proportionate to the area which they undertake to plant, and these advances are made at a time when money is most coveted. By this means, large sums find their way into the hands of the people; in the famine of 1896-97 over 25½ lakhs was paid to the cultivators; and though the area under poppy has shrunk of late years, no less than 12½ lakhs was paid as advances in 1903-04. Besides this, emigration is more active than elsewhere; large numbers emigrate annually in search of work on the roads, railways and fields in the eastern districts, and many thousands of the adult males of Gayā are to be found spread over other parts of India in quasi-permanent employ. All these persons make remittances to their homes, while those who migrate for a time bring back with them the balance of their savings; in this way, large sums of money are sent and brought into the district every year, and are expended in the support of their families. In the famine year 1896-97 over 16½ lakhs was paid by money order in the district, and from the fact that the money orders were almost all for sums below Rs. 10, the average being about half that sum, it may be concluded a large proportion represented remittances sent by emigrants to their homes. Since that time this means of remitting money has grown in popularity; and in 1904-05 the amount paid by money order exceeded 30 lakhs—a fact which may reasonably be taken as an indication of the increased prosperity of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

OCCUPATIONS, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE.

Occupations.

In Gayā, as in other Bengal districts, a large majority of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, no less than 65·1 per cent. of the whole population deriving their livelihood from cultivation. Of these, 48 per cent. are actual workers, among whom are included 395,000 rent-payers, 214,000 labourers, and 15,000 rent-receivers. Of the remainder, 14 per cent. are supported by industries; the professional classes account for 1·9 per cent. of whom 40 per cent. are actual workers, including 7,000 priests and 1,500 teachers; and the commercial class is even smaller, amounting to only 0·6 per cent. Of the industrial population, 46 per cent. are actual workers, including 16,000 cotton-weavers, 11,000 oil-pressers and sellers, 9,000 sellers of firewood, 8,000 dealers in pulse and grain, the same number of grocers and of potters, 7,000 toddy-sellers, 6,000 carpenters, 5,000 cow-keepers and milk-sellers, besides numerous tailors, shoe-makers, blacksmiths, basket-makers, and workers in gold and silver. Among those engaged in other occupations are 116,000 general labourers, 13,000 herdsmen, 7,000 earth-workers and 6,000 beggars.

Though not so large as in the adjoining districts of Shāhābād and Patna, the proportion of persons engaged in industrial occupations is very much greater than in the North Bihār districts, where native handicrafts are of far less importance. It has been suggested that the reason of this is that, after the murder of Alamgīr and the fall of Delhi in 1759 A.D., some members of the Muhammadan nobility attached to the Mughal court retired to the *jāgīrs* that had been given them in the Patna, Gayā, and Shāhābād districts, bringing in their train large numbers of artificers and traders who settled down in these three districts; while the districts to the north of the Ganges were still in an unsettled state, sparsely populated and only partially cultivated.

MANUFACTURES.

Gayā contains no manufacturing towns or important trade centres, and, as might be expected in a district where the great majority of the people are engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits and where the urban population is small, the bulk of the industrial community are employed in supplying the simple needs of a rural people. The people require very little that cannot be supplied by the village artizan beyond the common commodities imported everywhere in Bengal, such as Manchester piece-goods and kerosine-oil; and the various articles manufactured for local consumption, such as brass utensils, bell-metal ornaments, earthenware pots, woollen blankets, etc., meet most of their wants. Manufactures in the proper sense of the word are few in number and of little significance, and scarcely any of the industries produce anything for export. A short account of the principal industries is given below.

Lac.

The lac industry in this district is confined to the area comprised within the jurisdiction of the Imāmganj and Dumaria police-stations and the town of Dāūdnagar in the west. The cultivation of lac is carried on chiefly by the Bhuiyās and other low castes, who take out leases of the trees on which the insect (*Coccus lacca*) is reared, at a rental of some four or five rupees for each hundred trees. Lac merchants also take leases at similar rates from the zamindārs and employ labourers to rear the insects. The tree most commonly used in the district is the *palās* (*Butea frondosa*), which grows in large numbers to the south, but the *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) is also sometimes used. The insects take six months to complete the secretion of lac, and the lac harvest is thus reaped twice annually, about the months of November and May. When the secretion is complete, the twigs, on the bark of which the lac incrustation has been formed, are cut off, and the crude material is removed and ground in heavy stone mills. When they have been thoroughly ground, they are sifted in a coarse sieve, and the fragments of twigs which still remain are removed. The grains of lac which are left are next washed several times, by being loaded in big tubs and worked by the labourers' feet, and all particles of wood and other foreign substances are strained off; they are then strained through a cloth, and after being dried in the sun, are again passed through a sieve; and the refuse having been removed, the finer product is mixed

with arsenic and placed in long cloth bags. The latter are twisted round and round before a fire, the heat of which causes the grains to melt and ooze out; the liquid lac is then scraped off the bag and placed on a stone slab below it. It is generally gathered up again and replaced in the bag till the lac is thoroughly melted and the proper consistency is obtained; and it is then pressed out into thin sheets. It is now ready for ordinary rough work, and is made into bangles, bracelets, rings, beads and other trinkets. It is also employed by turners for the colouring of wooden toys, by goldsmiths for the colouring of metals, and for lacquered ware generally. Nearly all the lac produced in the district is exported, and the industry is in a flourishing condition, there being 32 factories with an annual outturn of about 50,000 maunds.

Sugar.

Raw sugar, including molasses, jaggery and other crude saccharine produce, is one of the most important manufactures in the district, large quantities being sent out every year to Eastern Bengal, the Central Provinces, Rājputāna and Central India; over 200,000 maunds of crude sugar are exported annually. The process of manufacture may be seen in every village; it is extremely simple; and the apparatus required is far from elaborate. To extract the juice (*ras*), the sugarcane is pressed in a mill worked by bullocks. Formerly the mills used were primitive wooden or stone machines, but in recent years the iron roller mills, known as the Bihiā mills, have come into universal use. The juice extracted is poured into shallow iron pans, called *karāhis*, and boiled, the only fuel used being the cane-leaves and the dried stalks from which the juice has been extracted. When the juice thickens, it is poured into small pots and exposed to the air to harden, the molasses thus produced being known as *gur*.

The manufacture of refined sugar is carried on only on a very small scale, and the condition of the industry is in striking contrast with that just mentioned. With the development of communications and the growth of trade, the sugar-refining industry has been less and less able to compete with the imports of cheap Mauritius and Cossipore sugar. Large quantities of these and other foreign sugars are sold at rates lower than those obtained for the local product; the crystalline sugar thus imported is purer and of a superior quality to that made in the

district; and the manufacture of the latter has consequently declined and is now almost extinct.

Brass.

One of the few industries which has not yet suffered from the competition of foreign or machine-made articles, and which is still in a prosperous condition, is the manufacture of brass utensils. These are made in the town of Gayā at Mārufganj, Gayāwālbigha, and Buniādganj, and at Kenār in the head quarters subdivision; at Hasuā and Kauwākol in the Nawāda subdivision; and at Dāūdnagar and Nabīnagar in the Aurangābād subdivision. A large number of elegant brass vessels are made at the latter place, and some of those turned out at Gayā are chased with some skill. The braziers of the town also manufacture figures of Hindu deities, which are taken away by pilgrims in considerable quantities. Except at these localities, the village workers confine themselves almost exclusively to the manufacture of bracelets and anklets of bell-metal, which the lower classes use instead of more costly ornaments.

Cotton fabrics.

Cotton weaving was formerly a large and prosperous industry, which was of such importance 100 years ago that, in addition to the central depôt at Patna, the old East India Company had three cloth factories in the district of Bihār, situated at Jahānābād, Maghra and Bigha, besides five subordinate factories and 22 houses for the purchase of cloth. According to Buchanan Hamilton, the agent of the Company "entered into engagements with 2,200 of the best weavers in the country round Jahanabad, including that division, Holasganj, Sahebgunj, and a few perhaps in Vikram, Arwal, Daudnagar and the corner of Ramgar, next to that town. Each man on becoming bound (*Assami*) to the Company received two rupees, and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as much as the Company required; and no other advance has ever been made by the commercial residents. The agent orders each man to make a certain number of pieces of such or such goods, and he is paid for each on its delivery, according to the price stated in the tables." This extensive industry is now a thing of the past, and as in other parts of the Province, the hand-made article has been driven out of the market by imported piece-goods. Though the product of the local looms lasts longer, the advantage thus gained is counterbalanced by its higher cost. The preference for *markin*, as the

Manchester article is called, can be readily understood, as a piece of country cloth costs Re. 1-4 and will last 8 or 9 months, whereas a piece of *mārkin* of the same size will last 6 months, but will be only half the price.

The well-to-do have now discarded the coarse cotton cloth of the district, but weaving is still carried on to some extent, as the poorer classes prefer it on account of its strength, durability and greater warmth. This *motia* or *gāzi* cloth is still used in the winter, the men wearing it in the shape of *dhotīs*, *mirzāis* (jackets) and *dohars* or *dulāis*, which take the place of quilts, while women of the labouring, artizan and shop-keeper classes use it in the shape of *sārīs* and *kurtas* (bodices or chemisettes). It is woven in all parts of the district, the weavers being mostly Jolāhās, though some Patwas in Gayāwālbigha and Buniādganj also sometimes produce it instead of tusser silk. The profits of manufacture are very small, being, it is said, about 2 pice for every yard of a breadth of 27 inches; a cloth 18 yards in length takes 3 days to finish, and the profits would therefore be about 9 annas for every 3 days, or about Rs. 5-10 a month, assuming that the weaver is always fully employed. This however is not the case and if all the numbers of the Jolāhā caste had to depend on the produce of their looms, they would have disappeared long ago. Many of them have now forsaken their hereditary calling for more profitable occupations, and others who still work their looms eke out their slender earnings by agriculture and labour of various kinds. Every year large numbers of them seek service in the jute mills on the Hooghly or work as menials in Calcutta, and those that still ply the trade have seldom more than one loom at work at a time, whereas formerly the number was only limited by that of the members of the family who could work.

Woollen fabrics.

The woollen fabric industry may be divided roughly into two branches, the manufacture of the country blankets of rough texture ordinarily used by the poorer classes, and the manufacture of carpets called indiscriminately *kālins* and *gālichās* in this district, which are of a superior texture and require more skilled workmanship. The manufacture of coarse blankets is confined to one class of people, the Gareris or shepherd caste, who keep sheep, shear them, make the wool into cloth, and sell the blankets. The price of a blanket thus produced is so low as to barely cover the value

of the material, but as the wool is the produce of the sheep which the Gareris themselves rear, the whole price of the cloth they weave is pure gain, for the cost of the loom and other instruments used in weaving is practically nothing. Part of the plant is home-made, and the rest is bought from the village blacksmiths and carpenters, the total value of a complete woollen weaving outfit being less than 8 annas, including the home-made instruments. The only places now noted for the manufacture of blankets are Ambā and Chilki in the jurisdiction of the Kutumbā outpost, where blankets of superior finish and greater thickness are made, ornamental designs being occasionally introduced. These blankets are generally made to order for the richer classes, as they are much more expensive than those of the ordinary type. The latter are exported in small quantities, but are mostly made for local use, a coarse blanket being the only protection against the cold that the poorer classes can afford.

Carpet-weaving is practically confined to the villages of Obrā and Koraipur and the town of Dāūdnagar in the Aurangābād subdivision, where some Muhammadan (Kālinbāf) families monopolize the trade. The carpets they produce are generally made of cotton, but frequently wool is mixed with the cotton, or else wool only is used. They vary in size, colour, texture and design according to the demand or to such special orders as may be received. The price varies from about Rs. 3 to upwards of Rs. 500, according to the size and quality, the annual value of the total outturn being about Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000. The carpets are exported to a small extent to Calcutta, and may often be seen in the booths at the various fairs held in Gayā and the neighbouring districts.

Silk fabrics.

Silk-weaving is carried on at Mānpur and Buniādganj on the outskirts of Gayā, to a small extent in the Gayāwālbigha *mahalla* in the town itself, and at Chākand some 5 miles to the north; at Kādirganj and Akbarpur in the Nawāda subdivision; and at Dāūdnagar in the Aurangābād subdivision. The silk produced is that known as tusser (*tasar*); it is generally of a coarse description, and much of it is remarkable neither for durability nor beauty. The class rich enough to buy expensive silk is necessarily somewhat small, and is generally able to purchase silk of a better quality, such as that of Murshidābād,

which the cheapness of carriage afforded by the railway puts on the market at a low rate. Such competition naturally tells against the home-made article, and the result is that the cloth woven tends to deteriorate in quality. The best kinds are now rarely woven, and the quantity of coarse *bāfta* (mixed tusser and cotton) turned out by the local looms is on the increase.

On the whole, however, the industry is in a fairly flourishing condition, and so far the weavers have been able to hold their own, largely owing to the fact that silk is used by Hindus for religious purposes. From Vedic times the use of silk fabrics on ceremonial occasions has been enjoined on Hindus; those who can afford it regard it as incumbent on them to wear silk daily at the time of worship; and foreign silks or silks containing an admixture of other fibres are prohibited for such ceremonial purposes. The silk-manufacturing industry has thus a peculiar vitality of its own, which is not shared by the cotton-weaving industry; and consequently the weavers, who have the advantage of living close to a pilgrim city, manage to earn a competence by weaving alone; some of them indeed are in easy circumstances and have considerable incomes. Most of them have only one loom, but some have as many as four or five, the industry giving employment to all the members of a family, as the men weave, the women spin, and the children set the warp. The cocoons have not to be got from any great distance, as they are imported from the jungles in Palāmau and Hazāribāgh to the south; and there is a sufficient demand for the finished product locally. Gayā itself offers a good market for its sale, owing to the number of priests who officiate there and of pilgrims who are glad to take away with them a piece of the local silk, and besides this a considerable quantity is exported to Azimgarh and elsewhere. Most of the cloth is used for *sārīs, chadars, kurtas*, etc., but a great deal is woven and exported for use as shrouds in which to wind the dead. The weavers are most numerous in Mānpur and Buniādganj; but even here they form a small community. Their profits have, however, increased considerably of recent years, the value of the total annual outturn rising, in the decade ending in 1901, from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 80,000; and as the number of families engaged in weaving has also grown, there appears no reason to apprehend that the industry is declining.

Stone-carving.

Gayā is one of the few districts in Bengal in which stone-carving is carried on. The principal seat of the industry is at Pathalkati, a village some 19 miles north-east of Gayā, but there are also some workmen at Dhanmahuā and Sapneri, 3 and 4 miles respectively west of that place, and at the foot of the Manglagauri Hill in Gayā itself. The art is said to have been introduced by some workmen of Jaipur, who were brought to Gayā to build the Vishnupad temple some 110 years ago, and, their attention having been attracted by the possibilities of the quarry at Pathalkati, eventually gave up the idea of returning to their homes and settled there. The present race of stone-carvers say that their forefathers were skilled sculptors, and point to the image of the Sun god in the local temple as a specimen of their proficiency, but the art has now fallen to a low state. With a few exceptions, only plain vases, cups, bowls, dishes and cups of a stereotyped pattern are manufactured, but some of the carvers produce ornamental vases, figures of gods, human beings, animals, etc., carved with a certain amount of taste and skill. The equipment of the workshop is primitive, and the implements used consist merely of a chisel, hammer, compasses, a roller which serves the purposes of a lathe, and a *narhani* or thin piece of iron used to apply lac, cement broken pieces, or place the rough article on the lathe to be polished. The process is a simple one, as after the stone has been carved and polished, it is only necessary to blacken it, which is done by means of soot either alone or mixed with the juice of *sim* leaves (*Dolichos Lablab*). These articles find a ready sale in Gayā, where they are in great request among the pilgrims; while some serve a useful purpose locally, such as the *kharals* or mortars used by native medical practitioners for compounding medicines.

Wood-carving.

The following account of the wood-carving of Gaya, is taken from the Monograph on Wood-carving in Bengal, by Chevalier O. Ghilardi (1903) :—"In this old city the wood-carving industry must have reached the apex of the beautiful as shewn in the examples which belong to the earliest periods of this art. Unhappily this excellence has not been maintained in the pieces of latter date. I went through the remotest recesses of the extensive native quarter and had the opportunity of admiring some really beautiful wood-carving, which must have originated from the splendid examples of old carved stone on the Buddhist and Hindu

temples which seem so gloriously to defy the ravages of the centuries. I visited the house of Rai Behari Lall Barrick Bahadur, where the best specimen of ancient carving can be admired and profitably studied. Here I found a door with its pillars, architrave and friezes so admirably carved that they might well be exhibited in a museum. Near this house is the corner of a very narrow lane, at which there is a small house evidently old, and displaying some beautiful carvings of the more minute style, almost resembling chased silver or filigree work. The natives themselves have great veneration for this building, owing to the beautiful construction of its verandah, beams, pillars, and friezes. Many other fine examples here are injured by several coats of tar having been laid over them in such a way as almost to obliterate the ancient carving, of which little or no trace is now visible. * * * There is now no wood-carver in Gayā able to do any work similar to these splendid remains. The mistries are mere carpenters, and very seldom receive orders for even common carving. * * * All the mistries, when not engaged on simple carpenter's constructive work, employ themselves making boxes of different sizes, inlaid with brass—a very common work indeed in this locality, for which there is always a demand, and from which they can earn from 8 to 12 annas per day."

From the preceding account it will be seen that the art of wood-carving is almost extinct in this district; and it is noticeable that the fine work referred to above is only found in the old town of Gayā, and not in the modern quarter. With a few exceptions, this carving possesses all the characteristics of the Burmese manner, and there is now no demand for good work of this kind.

Other manufactures.

The other manufactures are of little importance, with the exception of tobacco curing, which is an important local industry, although the leaf itself has to be imported, chiefly from Tirhut. The principal centres of manufacture are Gayā, Gurua and Paibīgha, the brand manufactured in the latter place being held in much esteem all over India; 30,000 maunds are exported annually. The other industries are those common all over the country, such as the manufacture of tiles and pottery by the village Kumhārs, of gold and silver ornaments by the Sonārs, and of oil by the Telis. The latter industry has however been

seriously affected by competition; and though mustard and linseed continue to be pressed in the old-fashioned country mills, the manufacture of vegetable oils is everywhere suffering from the increasing use of mineral oils. Of these regular village artizans practically the only class which exports anything consists of the Chamārs, as hides are cured in many places for export, though there is no large tannery in the district.

MINES.

Mica.

The south-east corner of the district forms part of the mica-producing area of Bengal, which coincides with a great belt of schists and associated gneissose granite, some 12 miles broad and 60 miles long, stretching from Hazāribāgh through the south of the Nawāda subdivision into Monghyr. In this portion of the district there are 6 mica mines, situated at Singar, Sapahī, Basauni, and Belam, and in the Government estates of Chatkarī and Dubaur; but the mineral is also found in small quantities in other localities among the hills in the south on the border of Hazāribāgh. During the last 15 years the production of mica in Bengal has undergone a phenomenal development, in which this district has shared very fully. In 1891 the industry was almost non-existent, the total production in the whole Province being only valued at Rs. 87,000; whereas in 1904-05 the outturn in Gayā alone was 246 tons, valued at over 1½ lakhs of rupees; of this amount, the Singar and Chatkarī mines produced 84 and 68 tons respectively. The methods of working are very simple. The seams are reached by blasting, and the sheets of mica are dug out with spade and pick, after which they are separated, clipped and sorted; they are then packed according to sizes and despatched to Calcutta for export to Europe and America. The industry gives employment to an average daily number of 1,269 persons, of whom 984 work below and 285 above ground; the labourers are drawn from the ordinary labouring classes and are paid a wage varying from two to six annas, according to age, sex and skill.

Iron ore is found in considerable quantities at Paclambā in the Nawāda subdivision and Lodhwe in the headquarters subdivision, but is not worked there. It also exists in the Barābar Hills where there were formerly smelting works under European management; it is now being worked again to a small extent. Granite, syenite and laterite are also quarried in many of the

hills, for building purposes and road metalling. The so-called Gayā black stone, of which ornaments, bowls and figures are carved, is, as already stated, quarried at Pathalkati in the Atrī thāna. Pottery clay exists in many places and nodules of limestone are found in scattered localities. Saltpetre is manufactured in the Jahānābād subdivision from efflorescence in the clay of village sites, but elsewhere the manufacture is merely nominal, owing to the fact that the soil is not saliferous.

TRADE. The district being almost purely agricultural, the chief trade consists of the various products of cultivation. The principal exports are cereals, pulses, oil-seeds, raw sugar, crude opium, *mahuā* fruit, saltpetre, mica, lac, blankets, carpets, stone and brass utensils, hides and manufactured tobacco. The principal imports are salt, coal and coke, piece-goods and shawls, kerosine-oil, tea, cotton, timber, tabocco (unmanufactured dry leaves), iron, spices of all kinds, dried and fresh fruits, refined sugar, paper and various articles of European manufacture.

Exports. According to the returns showing the export and import traffic, by far the most important articles of export are linseed, raw sugar, gram and pulse, these commodities accounting for seven-eighths for the total export trade. The quantity of linseed sent out of the district forms more than a third of the total exports, and nearly the whole of this finds its way to Calcutta and Howrah. The metropolitan districts, in fact, receive by far the greater part of the products exported, with the exception of rice, which is distributed among the other Bihār districts, and of raw sugar, which is consigned in large quantities to the Central Provinces, Central India, Eastern Bengal and the adjoining district of Monghyr. Among other exports, crude opium is taken to Patna, where it is manufactured in the Government factory; hides, mica and saltpetre to Calcutta; and blankets to Howrah and the districts of the Chotā Nāgpur Division. Lac is chiefly exported to Calcutta, Patna and Mirzapur, manufactured tobacco to Patna and Howrah, and wood and *mahuā* flowers to Patna and Monghyr. Stoneware is taken to all parts of India by pilgrims who visit Gayā in large numbers.

Imports. Salt, piece-goods and other articles of European manufacture, tea, iron, spices and refined sugar are imported from Calcutta; coke and coal from the districts of Hāzaribāgh and Mānbhum;

kerosine-oil from the 24-Parganas; gunny-bags from Calcutta and Patna; shawls from Kashmīr and Rājputāna; cotton from the United Provinces; timber from Patna and Nepāl; bamboos from Patna; unmanufactured tobacco and fresh fruit from Patna and Muzaffarpur; and paper from Serampore, Bally and Calcutta.

Trade centres.

The chief centres of trade are Gayā, Tekāri, Guruā, Rāniganj and Imāmganj in the headquarters subdivision; Rajaulī and Akbarpur in the Nawāda subdivision; Jahānābād and Arwal in the Jahānābād subdivision and Dāūdnagar, Deo, Mahārājganj, Khiriāwān, Rafiganj and Jamhor in the Aurangābād subdivision. Owing to the opening of new railways, which now tap most of the trade routes in the district, several other places are rising in importance, the most noticeable being Nawāda. Feeder roads have been constructed by the District Board wherever required, and trade tends to converge upon the Railway stations. For the conveyance of produce, bullock carts are generally used, but pack-bullocks are also very largely employed, especially in the hilly parts.

Fairs.

There are a large number of fairs held in different parts of the year throughout the district, but most are only religious gatherings and of little importance from a commercial point of view. The greatest of these fairs are the Bisuā and Kārtik Purnamāshi fairs held at Salempur near Gayā, the Bisuā *melā* held at Rafiganj and the Sivarātri *melā* held at Deokund, at which a busy trade is driven in cattle, piece-goods, brassware, earthenware, and a variety of articles of country manufacture. The Bisuā fair at Salempur, which is held in the month of Chait (March-April), attracts about 15,000 people, and the fair held at the same time at Rafiganj attracts as many more; these are the largest cattle fairs in the district, and great numbers of cattle and horses are brought to them for sale. At the same time, there are smaller gatherings at Guruā to the south-west of Gayā, at Machendra in the Nawāda subdivision, and at the falls of Kakolat. The other great fair at Salempur, the Kārtik Purnamāshi, is strictly a bathing festival held in November on the last day of Kārtik, when about 10,000 people assemble to bathe in the Phalgu. Similar gatherings take place on the same day at Guruā, at Bharāri and Jahānābād in the subdivision of that name, and at Jamhor in the Aurangābād subdivision. The Sivārati fairs at Deokund are held in

commemoration of the marriage of Siva, and take place twice in the year, once in the month of Phāgun (February-March) and again in Baisākh (April-May); the number assembling on each occasion is estimated to amount to 20,000 or 30,000. Similar fairs are also held in Phāgun at Wazīrganj, Dumaria, Barachattī and Fatehpur in the headquarters subdivision, and at Barāwān in Aurangābād.

Among other fairs there are two of considerable local importance. A large concourse of people, numbering about 4,000 or 5,000 persons, meet at the fair known as *Chhath* which is held at Deo twice a year, in October on the 22nd Kārtik and again in April on the 22nd Chait, in honour of the Sun god; and some 10,000 to 15,000 people assemble at the Aghani *melā* at Sītāmarhi which is held in December on the last day of Aghan in honour of Sīta, the wife of Rāma, who is said to have spent some time there during her exile. The only other fairs which call for separate mention are the Sankrānti *melā* held in the month of Māgh (January-February) on the Makara Sankranti (the passage of the sun from Sagittarius to Capricornus) at the town of Gayā, at the hot springs of Tapoban near Wazirganj, and at Jamhor and Umgā; and the *Ananteha udas*, celebrated in the month of Bhādo (August-September) in honour of Siva, when about 15,000 people gather at the Barābar Hills. The duration of these fairs varies from one to seven days, except those held at Umgā and Rafiganj, which last for two weeks.

Weights and Measures.

There is no uniform system of weights and measures in the Gayā district, as though the maund is recognized as equivalent to 8 *paserī* or 40 seers, both the *paserī* and the seer vary in different places. The *paserī*, though literally meaning 5 seers, ranges from 6 to 7½ seers according to local custom, and the seer again varies from 42 to 84 *tolās*. The standard seer of 80 *tolās* is universally recognized for the weighment of *gānja*, *bhāng*, opium and precious metals, but different localities give a different value to the seer in weighing other articles. The various values of the seer are reported to be as follows: in Aurangābād town, Gayā town and the Nawāda subdivision 42 and 72 *tolās*; in the Arwal thāna 44 *tolās*; in Tekārī, Rajaulī, Kauwākol and the headquarters subdivision, 48 *tolās*; in Hasuā, 52 *tolās*; in the Pakribarāwān thāna, 56 *tolās*; in Dāūdnagar, 80 *tolās*; in Nawāda

town, 84 *tolās*; while in the case of wholesale goods the weight observed in Gayā is 82 *tolās*. On the other hand, the standard seer of 80 *tolās* is generally recognized for measures of capacity, and is held to be equivalent to 1·142 quarts. For measures of length the Government yard of 36 inches (called the *nambari gaz*) is used for cloth, side by side with various local yards, *e.g.*, the Gayā yard is 41 inches, that used in Nawāda and Hasuā towns is 40 inches, and elsewhere in the Nawāda subdivision it is 39 inches. For measuring lands and houses the *hāth*, or cubit, is in universal use, but its length varies from 16 to 20 inches; for measuring lands, the *bāns*, which generally is equivalent to six cubits or 108 inches, is employed; and for measuring walls house-builders have a yard, call the *Sikandari gaz*, equal to 33 inches.

CHAPTER XIV.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

The account of the Gayā roads given by Buchanan Hamilton nearly 100 years ago presents a vivid picture of the deficiency of communications at that time. "During the rainy season," he says, "all internal commerce is at a complete standstill, as the roads are then so bad as not to admit of even cattle travelling with back loads. I have seen no country, that could be called at all civilized, where so little attention has been paid to this important subject, and even in the vicinity of the jails, where many convicts sentenced to labour are confined, very little has been done. The cross roads from market to market are those which are chiefly wanted, and no one who has not seen the condition of these could believe that a country so extremely populous and rich, and having such occasion for land conveyance, could be so ill provided. The object in such roads is not to enable gentlemen to drive their curricles, but to enable cattle carrying back loads to pass at all seasons from one market to another, and in the fair season to enable carts to do the same." This is not a very high standard of efficiency; but it is clear from the absence of local carts for the carriage of supplies during the Mutiny that there was but little improvement in the succeeding half century, though the Grand Trunk Road and the Patna-Gayā Road were important trade routes. The Collector, in his account of the events of 1857, speaks of the difficulty he had in supplying the indents made on him for carriage: all transport, he said, was carried on by means of small pack-bullocks, unless, on account of their size, for military purposes; he could hire no carts, and so had to make them. Altogether 85 carts were supplied in this way, and the fact that it was found impossible to hire such a small number of carts is a striking proof of the absence of good roads in the interior. This

wretched condition of inaccessibility has long since passed away, and Gayā is now wonderfully well served with different means of communication. The Patna-Gayā canal passes along its western boundary for over 40 miles, the Grand Trunk Road runs along through the southern portion for nearly 70 miles, the interior is covered by a network of roads and the map of the district is now intersected from north to south and from east to west with railway lines.

Roads.

The present system of roads is a creation of the last half century. Fifty years ago the only road by which a traveller could go to Calcutta was the Grand Trunk Road, the only means of conveyance were the relays of carriages provided by various contractors, and the state of the country was so unsettled that constables had to be stationed in stage-huts built at short intervals. To the north the principal route open to traffic was the Patna-Gayā Road along which the railway now passes, but this was unmetalled, and in the rainy season communication with Patna was almost entirely interrupted. During the famine of 1866, when it was the one channel through which food could be brought in to feed the starving people, it was impassable, the population was cut off from supplies, and the severity of the famine was consequently aggravated. By 1875 this road had been metalled throughout its length, and there were but two other metalled roads, the Grand Trunk Road and the Bihār-Rajaulī Road. Three other roads only were considered of sufficient importance to deserve separate mention, viz., those from Gayā to Dāūdnagar, to Sherghāti, and to Nawāda, and of the 97 miles they covered only 16 were metalled. Besides these, there were 8 other unmetalled roads of less importance with a total length of 163 miles, and most of these had been constructed or put into working order during the famine of 1874.

At the present time, the district is intersected by a number of excellent roads which place every part of it within easy reach of the markets. The expenditure on original works during the quinquennium 1900—04 has been Rs. 3,19,000 and on repairs Rs. 3,64,000; and Gayā is now richer in metalled roads than any district in the Patna Division except Shāhābād. The District Board maintains 30 metalled roads, 69 unmetalled roads and 193 village roads with a length of 163, 715 and 628 miles,

respectively, and in addition to these there are 67 miles of metalled and 168 miles of unmetalled roads in the charge of the Public Works Department. The most important of these roads is the Grand Trunk Road, maintained from Provincial funds, which passes through the south of the district for a distance of 65 miles. It enters Gayā from the Hazāribāgh district near Bhalua, and leaves it by a great causeway in the bed of the Son at Bārun, crossing on its way the broad streams of the Mohāna, Morhar, Batāne and Pūnpūn, and passing the trade centres of Bārāchatti, Sherghāti and Aurangābād. The other roads of greatest importance are those running from Gayā to various parts of the district, such as that joining the Grand Trunk Road at Dobhī, and the roads to Dāūdnagar and to Sherghāti, the latter and its continuation to Imāmganj and Dumaria being the chief line connecting Gayā and Palāmau before the opening of the new line of railway from Bārun to Daltonganj. Some roads leading from Gayā, which were formerly the principal trade routes, such as those to Aurangābād, Jahānābād and Nawāda, have now lost much of their importance owing to the railway lines which run parallel to or alongside them, though they still serve a useful purpose as feeder roads. In the interior traffic is heaviest along the road from Jahānābād to Arwal (21 miles) and that running for 24 miles from Rajaulī to Nawāda and thence across the border at Kharhāt to Bihār, which brings down the produce of the hills.

Much of the internal trade of the district is still carried very largely by pack-bullocks, as the villages off the roads are not accessible to carts in all months of the year. The irrigation channels spread out in all directions, and the nature of the soil, which, being largely composed of clay, becomes very heavy when wet, precludes bullock carts from travelling about with the same ease and freedom as in North Bihār. It is not until the cold weather that the interior of the country is opened out to them, and during the rains pack-bullocks ply to and from the villages. They are also largely in request in the broken hilly country to the south, where the only carts in use are low, strong carts with solid wooden wheels suitable for the rough country which they have to cross. Elsewhere the carts in use are similar to those used in other parts of Bihār. The light springless carts known

as *ekkās* are common, and along a few roads away from the railway there are camel carts carrying passengers and goods, Gayā being one of the districts furthest south in which camels thrive and can be usefully employed.

Roadside arboriculture.

Great activity has been shown in recent years in planting roadside avenues along the principal roads. In the quinquennium ending in 1904-05 the expenditure on the planting of trees and the establishment of nurseries was greater than in any other district in the Division. It is estimated that 138 miles of roads require to be planted, though it is doubtful if any road can be said to have been completely planted as the avenues are seldom continuous for a complete mile, and there are many gaps where the trees have died out. A programme has been prepared, under which 69 miles are to be planted by the end of 1907-08, and this programme is being worked up to.

Railways.

The district is singularly well served by railways, which have made the headquarters station the centre of a number of radiating lines and of a busy railway system. It has for many years been the terminus of the Patna-Gayā Railway, but within the last few years no less than 3 new lines have been opened, and one more is now under construction. To the north, the Patna-Gayā Railway connects it with the main line of the East Indian Railway at Bankipore, 34½ miles of it and 6 stations besides Gayā lying within the district. To the east the South Bihār Railway runs east from Gayā to Lakhisarai through the Nawāda subdivision, 58 miles of the line and 9 stations falling within the district. To the east is the Mughalsarai-Gayā Railway running from Gayā through the Aurangābād subdivision to Mughalsarai, 51 miles of the line and 7 stations lying within Gayā; and to the south-west the Bārun-Daltonganj Railway takes off at Bārun on the Son, and, passing by Nabīnagar, runs a distance of 23¼ miles before it enters the Palāmau district. A fifth line running through the south-east of the district from Gayā to Katrā-garh is now under construction, of which 34 miles will fall within Gayā district. When completed, this line will, with the Mughalsarai-Gayā line, form the Grand Chord line to Calcutta.

Water Communication.

None of the rivers, except the Son, are navigable, and navigation on that river is intermittent and of little commercial

importance. In the dry season the small depth of water prevents boats of more than 20 maunds proceeding up-stream, while the violent floods in the rains equally deter large boats, though boats of 500 or 600 maunds occasionally sail up it. Except one or two streams which retain a little water in the dry season, the rivers are only filled during the rains, and even then the water passes off in a few days. When they are in flood, they quickly become unfordable, and, as a rule, no boats are obtainable, except at the ferries which are few and far between. The country people however provide a ready substitute in the shape of light rafts, called *gharnais*, made of a light framework of bamboos supported on inverted earthenware pots (*gharā*). Besides this, the District Board maintains ferries across the larger rivers, where they are not bridged. The most important ferry is that across the Son from Dāūdnagar to Nāsriganj in Shāhābād. On the Patna-Gayā canal a small steamer plies weekly, but there is not much traffic.

POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS.

There are altogether 712 miles of postal communication and 76 post-offices in the district. The number of postal articles delivered in 1904-05 was 1,095,648, including letters, post-cards, packets, newspapers and parcels; the value of the money orders issued was over 15 lakhs, and of those paid nearly 24 lakhs, and the total amount of Savings Bank deposits was Rs. 2,10,000. There are also 8 telegraph offices, from which 21,800 messages were issued in the year; these offices are situated at Gayā, Arwal, Aurangābād, Bārun, Dāūdnagar, Jahānābād, Nawāda and Tekāri.

CHAPTER XV.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

EARLY ENGLISH ADMINISTRATION.

WHEN the *Dīwānī* or fiscal administration of the three Provinces of Bihār, Bengal, and Orissa was granted to the East India Company in 1765 by the Emperor Shāh Alam, a dual system of government was inaugurated, by which the English received the revenues and undertook to maintain the army, while the criminal jurisdiction, or Nizāmat, was vested in the Nawāb. But, though the civil and military power of the country and the resources for maintaining it were assumed on the part of the Company, it was not thought prudent to vest the direct management of the revenue in the hands of Europeans whose previous training in mercantile affairs had not qualified them to deal with the intricacies of the revenue system. Accordingly, they continued the existing system of administration, and until 1769 a native *Naib* or Deputy *Dīwān* conducted the collection of the revenue under the nominal control of the European Chief at Patna. In 1769 Supervisors were appointed in subordination to the Chief to superintend the native officers employed in collecting the revenue and administering justice, and in the succeeding year a Revenue Council of Control was established at Patna. When, however, the Court of Directors sent out orders in 1771 "to stand forth as *Dīwān* and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues," the *Naib Dīwān* at Patna was removed, and it was decided to substitute European for native agency. The Supervisors were now designated Collectors, and a native officer styled *Dīwān* was associated with each in the "superintendency of the revenues." In the following year, it was determined to make a five years' settlement of Bihār, and the zamīndārs having declined to accept a farm of the revenues of their districts, the system of putting them up to public competition was attempted. A body of speculators, called renters, accordingly sprang up, and farmed the revenue till 1777, the zamīndārs themselves receiving an annuity of 10 per cent. (*mālikānā*) on their collections. The experiment proved a failure,

as these speculators, ignorant of the real capabilities of the country and incited by the hopes of profit, readily agreed for sums which they were utterly unable to pay; and on the expiry of the settlement it was determined to introduce the system of yearly farms. This arrangement only intensified the mischief; the renters had no assurance that they would hold the farm another year or even have time to collect the current demand; they exacted as much as they could extort in the shortest time possible; and knowing that they would be imprisoned for any arrears, they made every endeavour to amass a fortune as soon as they could.

The *Dīwān* of the Company, Rājā Kalyān Singh, exercised arbitrary powers over the zamīndārs, confining them and confiscating their estates practically at his pleasure, and the authority of his *Naib Dīwān*, Rājā Kheāli Rām Singh, was almost as extensive. Rājā Mitrājīt Singh of Tekāri was placed under close arrest by the latter, who sent a Government agent to manage his estate; Rājā Narāyan Singh, the zamīndār of Siris and Kutumbā, was imprisoned and ousted from his property; and Rājā Akbar Alī Khān of Narhat and Samai was put under arrest at Patna. Such being the state of affairs, the zamīndārs being liable to be imprisoned and dispossessed of their estates at any moment for arrears of revenue, it is not surprising that when Chait Singh's rebellion broke out in 1781, some of the discontented chiefs took sides against the English, to whose mismanagement they naturally attributed their misfortunes. As soon as the rebellion started, Akbar Alī Khān made his escape from Patna, and going to Nawāda, raised a force of 4,000 or 5,000 matchlockmen, with which he proceeded to plunder the country. A small expedition was sent out to quell the insurrection and capture the rebel, but it was not till large reinforcements had arrived that he was driven out to the Kharagpur hills in Monghyr. Narāyan Singh also took advantage of the confusion to raise the standard of revolt, and took the field with a body of 1,500 troops against Major Crawfurd, who was then on the march to Bijaigarh. The English commander avoided him and got through to the Kaimur hills, but next year he received orders to seize the traitor, and shutting up every road and *ghāt* on the river Son by which Narāyan Singh could

retreat, left him only the alternative of surrendering to him or delivering himself at Patna. The rebel chief adopted the latter course, and was finally sent as a State prisoner to Dacca.

In the meantime, the whole of Bihār had been settled with Kalyān Singh, who proceeded to divide the settlement with Kheāli Rām Singh. Neither of them, however, was in a position to manage such a large extent of country, and they were forced to let out the *parganas* to farmers or sub-renters called *āmils*. In many cases the ancient families of zamīndārs secured the farms, but in others the *āmils* were strangers and speculators, with no local influence or prestige, and utterly ignorant of the people and their rights. Sepoys had to be sent to assist them in enforcing payment; they collected the rents at the point of the bayonet, wrangled with the local zamīndārs on the one hand, oppressed the ryots on the other, and embezzled as much as they could. The *āmils* had to be constantly changed, no less than six being employed one after the other in Siris and Kutumbā in 1783; and the practical result of this system may be gathered from a report of the Revenue Chief in 1782, in which he stated that he could get no one to accept the farm of Narhat and Samai, as "the confusion occasioned by the variety of *āmils* sent into these *parganas* has lessened the number of ryots very considerably, and cultivation is entirely neglected."

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES.

These disastrous experiments in revenue administration were not finally ended till the decennial settlement was concluded in 1790 and declared to be permanent in 1793. In justice, however, to the officers responsible for the administration, it should be said that proper supervision was practically impossible owing to the smallness of the staff and the vast territory under their control. Till 1774 the European Collectors controlled the revenue administration, and also exercised a general superintendence over the Criminal and Civil Courts; but in that year they were withdrawn, and their duties were transferred to a Revenue Council established at Patna, while the administration of justice was entrusted to native officers. This Council again was abolished in 1781, and its President or Revenue Chief was appointed Collector under the orders of the Committee of Revenue in Calcutta. His jurisdiction was enormous, as it included Tirhut, Shāhābād and Bihār, *i.e.*, the modern district of

Patna and the northern portion of Gayā; but for judicial purposes Bihār was now formed into a district, a covenanted Judge-Magistrate being placed in charge of the civil and criminal jurisdiction. Five years afterwards the powers of the Collector, Civil Judge and Magistrate were vested in the same person, but for criminal cases the real power was left with the native Judges till 1793. The offices of Judge and Collector were then again separated, and the district of Bihār had one civilian as Civil Judge and Magistrate, and a second as Collector under the Board of Revenue. At the same time, native Munsifs were appointed to hear and decide, in the first instance, suits relating to personal property not exceeding the value of Rs. 100, appeals from their decision lying to the Civil Judge.

Formation of the district.

The whole of the south of Gayā was included in Rāmgarh, a huge amorphous district, including practically the whole of Chotā Nāgpur and stretching on the south to Jashpur, Gangpur and Singhbhūm. This district, we are told,* was "long distinguished for the numerous crimes and devastation which occasioned annually the loss of many good soldiers from the unhealthiness of the country. The residence fo the Magistrate was usually above the ghauts or passes into the mountains, and circumstances frequently rendered his visiting places also within the ghauts necessary. In this predicament it became difficult for him to exercise an effectual control over the territory adjoining to Bahar proper, which state of things would naturally suggest the expediency of transferring all such places to the latter district. But here obstacles presented themselves, the jurisdiction of Bihār being already so extensive, that the management of any addition of magnitude would be utterly beyond the natural powers of any single Judge and Magistrate. To obviate this objection as far as practicable, it was recommended that a Joint-Magistrate should be stationed at Sherighautty." This proposal was sanctioned, and in 1814 a special Joint-Magistrate was stationed at Sherghāti with jurisdiction over the southern portion of Gayā, the remainder being still included in the district of Bihār.

For revenue purposes, the Collector was subordinate to the Board of Commissioners in Bihār and Benares, and for judicial

* Description of Hindostan, by Walter Hamilton, 1820.

purposes there were native Munsifs under a Judge-Magistrate from whom again an appeal lay to the Provincial Civil Court at Patna; this Court and also the Board were abolished in 1829, and their powers were vested in a Commissioner at Patna acting under the orders of the Board in Calcutta. It was not till 1825 that Bihār was constituted a separate Collectorate, and in 1831 the Judge-Magistrate of Gayā was given increased powers as a Sessions Judge; and his magisterial powers being made over to the Collector, the present unit of administration, the Magistrate-Collector, was created. In 1845 the offices of Magistrate and Collector were separated, to be again reunited in 1859 by the orders of the Secretary of State. Finally, the district of Gayā was created in 1865 out of parts of the old districts of Bihar and Rāmgarh, the subdivision of Bihār with an area of nearly 800 square miles being transferred to the Patna district; six years later the *parganas* of Japlā and Belaunjā, containing 650 square miles, were annexed to Lohārdagā (now Palāmau); and in 1875 an area of 6 square miles was transferred to Hazāribāgh.

GROWTH OF LAND REVENUE.

In 1789 the demand of land revenue for the district of Bihār was Rs. 10,41,700 payable by 744 estates with 1,160 proprietors; but the area of the district did not correspond with that of the present district of Gayā, and of the 41 *parganas* which were included in it, 16 have since been transferred to Patna, two (Japlā and Belunjā) to Palāmau, and one (Amarthu) to Monghyr. In 1870-71, when the district was practically the same as at present, the total demand of land revenue was Rs. 13,80,320, payable by 4,411 estates owned by 20,453 proprietors. Since that time the demand has increased but little, but on the other hand, the number of estates and proprietors, has grown very largely, owing to the extraordinary rapidity with which proprietary rights have been subdivided under the operation of the law of succession, and of modern legislation regarding partition and land registration which causes such minute subdivisions to be recorded. In 1881-82 the current demand had risen to Rs. 14,36,900, payable by 5,614 estates and 59,172 proprietors, and in 1900-01 to Rs. 14,80,700 due from 7,514 estates owned by 72,404 proprietors. The average payment from each estate has thus fallen during the three decades ending in that year from Rs. 313 to Rs. 256 and Rs. 197, and the payment from each proprietor from Rs. 67-8 to Rs. 24-4, and finally

to Rs. 20-8. In 1904-05 the demand amounted to Rs. 14,85,300 payable by 8,044 estates, of which 7,996 with a demand of Rs. 13,39,700 were permanently settled, 14 with a demand of Rs. 41,200 were temporarily settled, the remainder being held direct by Government.

Incidence of land revenue.

Roughly speaking, the land-owners of Gayā pay a land revenue of 8 annas and receive from their ryots Rs. 3 an acre. Thus the land revenue demand is 16 per cent. of the total rent demand, or over 80 per cent. is profit. The amount of profit even in 1812 attracted Buchanan Hamilton's attention, and we find him writing: "Although the people of this district are very cautious in speaking of their affairs, it is very generally admitted, even by themselves, that the owners of the assessed lands have very considerable profits; nor do they scruple to admit that it far exceeds the estimate of the one-tenth of the revenue, which was supposed to be the profit that they were to have by the settlement."

Government Estates.

The Government estates mentioned above extend over an area of 102 square miles and comprise 118 villages. They may be roughly divided into three groups, the escheated property of Ekbāl Bahādur, the Sarwa Mahāl, and the Nawāda group.

The first group passed to Government in 1879 by escheat, in consequence of the death without heirs of Ekbāl Bahādur, the son of a Muhammadan mistress of Mod Narāyan, the Rājā of Tekāri. It is composed of 28 villages, called the Dakhner Mahāl in which Government has 8½ annas interest; of a group of six villages, of which five are near Tekāri and one is in the Belā thāna; of nine villages constituting the Ghenjan Mahāl, situated 7 miles west of Makhdumpur; and of three villages some 5 miles west of Jahānābād.

The large and extensive tract called the Sarwa Mahāl comprises 47 villages, with an area of 31,284 acres, to the south of Gayā; most of them are at a distance of 11 miles from the town, but a few are situated on the southern border of the district. These villages came into the possession of Government about the year 1842, owing to the refusal of the former proprietors to take settlement of them.

The third group of estates contains 25 villages in the Nawāda subdivision, comprising an area of 16,282 acres. The

history of fifteen only is traceable; three were escheated to Government in 1820 on the death of the proprietor, a descendant of Kāmgār Khān, a military adventurer of the eighteenth century, to whom they once belonged; and twelve were confiscated in 1841, on account of the part taken in a daring dacoity by their former proprietor, a zamīndār of Hazāribāgh. The latter villages, which are known as the Dubaur Mahāl, are situated in the extreme south of the Nawāda subdivision; they are mostly jungle and hills, but contain valuable mica mines. Produce-rents prevail in altogether 64 of these villages, and cash-rents are paid in the remainder, the total annual average income derived from them being Rs. 1,35,100.

SURVEYS AND SETTLEMENTS.

These estates were cadastrally surveyed, and a record-of-rights was prepared during the years 1893 to 1898; and at the same time the Belkhara Mahāl in the north-west of the district and the property belonging to the 9 annas share of the Tekāri Rāj, then in the charge of the Court of Wards, were brought under survey and settlement. The whole tract thus dealt with included 758 villages extending over an area of 582 square miles, and the cost of the operations was 2½ lakhs.

In 1838 a demarcation survey of the district was carried out, in which the boundaries of villages and estates were defined and a compass and chain survey was made. This was followed by the professional village survey of 1838-44, which Government undertook with the object of making a scientific survey of the village boundaries and of preparing a map showing the geographical and topographical features of the country. The area commanded by the Son Canals in the north-west of the district was cadastrally surveyed in connection with the survey made for irrigation purposes in 1876-77; and recently survey and settlement operations have been extended to the Deo and Maksudpur estates. The former estate, which covers an area of 92 square miles, mostly in the Aurangābād subdivision, was settled in the years 1900—03. The latter includes 160 villages, covering 130 square miles; about 50 square miles are in the Atri thāna, forming a fairly compact block, and another 60 square miles are to be found in and about Rajauli. In this estate the proceedings commenced in 1900 and were concluded in 1904 at a net expenditure of Rs. 75,000 or Rs. 577 per square mile.

LAND TENURES.

In Gaya, as elsewhere in Bengal, a longer or shorter chain of intermediate landholders is generally to be found. At one end of the chain stands the proprietor or *mālik*, who holds the estate from Government under the Permanent Settlement, and pays his land-tax direct to the Government Treasury. At the other end is the actual cultivator, called the *jotdār* or *kāshtkār*. There are a number of intermediate tenures between the *mālik* and the actual cultivator, the majority of which partake of a *zar-i-peshgī* nature, *i.e.*, they have been granted by the zamīndār in consideration of a money advance or mortgage on loan, *e.g.*, the *mukararī*, which is a lease from the *mālik* at a fixed rental, after the payment of an installation fee called *nazarāna*. This lease is either permanent, in which case it is called *istimrārī* or *bartar-zandān* (from generation to generation), or it is only granted for the life of the lease-holder, in which case it is called *hin-hiyātī*. In addition to the *nazarāna*, the lease-holder has sometimes to pay an advance (*zar-i-peshgī*) as security for the payment of the rent. *Dar mukararī* is an exactly similar lease to the above granted by the *mukararīdār* to a third party. The holder of any of the preceding permanent tenures may either cultivate the land with his own labour, in which case the holding is called *nij-jot*; or with hired labour, in which case it is called *sir*; or he may make over the land to another for a fixed term, which gives rise to a number of subordinate tenures. *Thīkā* or *ijārā* is the common term for a sub-lease for a definite term. The holder of a *thīkā* obtains the estate either from the *mālik* or *mukararīdār* and has to pay an advance, on getting possession, and afterwards a fixed rent till the expiration of the term for which the lease has been taken. The *thīkādār* or *ijārādār* takes the place of the proprietor, who can only interfere on the ground that his ultimate rights are being prejudiced, or on the lease-holder failing to pay the fixed rent. The sub-lessee holding a lease from the *thīkādār* is called a *katkanādār*, and the tenure held by him a *katkanā*; and lower down still in the chain of subinfeudation is the *darkatkanādār* who has a subordinate tenure under the *katkanādār*.

THĪKĀDĀRĪ SYSTEM.

The *thīkādārī* system is an important feature in the system of land tenure prevalent in Gayā. In most cases it owes its origin to the large number of *bhāoli* tenures and the constant and detailed

supervision on the part of the landlord which the tenure entails. This he is unable to give himself, and he prefers the certain income from the *thīkādār* to the fluctuating one dependent on the peculations of unchecked servants. As stated in Chapter XI, this system of letting out estates on lease is, as a rule, objectionable in many respects and detrimental to the interests of both landlords and tenants. It is, however, justified in some cases, *e.g.*, where the *thīkādār* is the *bonā fide* representative of the ryots, and is amenable to public opinion in the village; or where he is a better and less oppressive landlord than the proprietor, and is strong enough to obtain his lease on fair terms; or where, on the contrary, the proprietor is a good and strong landlord, and is able to retain a firm hold on his village even during the course of the lease, and to prevent any alteration in the rents of the ryots or any modification of their rights in their lands. In such cases, there are advantages in the *thīkādārī* system. Its disadvantages are, however, very numerous, and it has been abandoned in the Government estates, where it has been proved that the direct management of a large property paying *bhāoli* rents is perfectly feasible. Direct management necessitates the upkeep of a highly-paid local agency, but even this is more economical than the middleman; and the experiment has met with fair success from the proprietor's point of view, while it is in every respect desirable in the tenants' interests.

The peculiar tenures which exist under the *bhāoli* and *nagdi* systems obtaining in this district have been already described in Chapter XI, and the only other tenures calling for special mention are the rent-free or *lākhirāj* tenures. These were once very numerous, and Buchanan Hamilton estimated that over one-third of the tenures in Bihār were free of revenue. Most of these have been resumed, but some still exist of a special nature, such as *altamghā* grants (from *āl*, red, and *tamghā*, a seal) or lands given in perpetuity as a reward for conspicuous military service, *madadmāsh* grants (from *madad*, assistance, and *māsh*, livelihood) or lands granted to favourites and others for their personal expenses, and *digwār* (*i.e.*, warder) lands assigned for the maintenance of guard and patrol on roads and passes.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHARGES AND STAFF.

THE revenue administration of the district is in charge of the Collector under the Commissioner of the Patna Division; and for general administrative purposes it is divided into four subdivisions with headquarters at Gayā, Aurangābād, Jahānābād and Nawāda. The bulk of the revenue work is done at the headquarters station where there is a staff consisting generally of three or four Deputy Collectors, besides some officers employed on special branches of work, such as a special Excise Deputy Collector and a Deputy Collector in charge of partition work. A Joint-Magistrate is usually deputed to the district for the cold-weather months, and occasionally also an Assistant Collector and one or two Sub-Deputy Collectors. The other subdivisions are in charge of Deputy Collectors, designated Subdivisional Officers, who are sometimes assisted by Sub-Deputy Collectors. The oldest of these subdivisions is the Nawāda subdivision, which was created in 1845; the Aurangābād subdivision was constituted in 1865; and the Jahānābād subdivision was established in 1872, when the old Sherghāti subdivision was abolished.

REVENUE.

The revenue of the district was Rs. 24,91,228 in 1880-81 (when the income-tax had not been imposed), Rs. 24,81,768 in 1890-91, and Rs. 28,51,857 in 1900-01. In 1904-05 it amounted to Rs. 31,96,444, of which nearly half (Rs. 14,71,294) was derived from land revenue, the other main heads of income being excise (Rs. 7,10,573), cesses (Rs. 5,60,940), stamps (Rs. 3,71,567) and income-tax (Rs. 82,070).

Excise.

The excise revenue is, as usual, derived from imported liquors, country spirits, *tāri*, opium and the duty and license fees on hemp drugs. A statement of the various exciseable articles and of the sums realized from them in the decade 1893—1902 is

given in the Statistical Appendix, from which it will be apparent that the income from this source has been fairly constant, except for the three lean years 1896—99, when it fell below 6 lakhs. It has now risen to over 7 lakhs, and the revenue thus derived is greater than in any other Bengal district, except the adjoining district of Patna.

Drinking in Bengal is largely indulged in by Hindī-speaking races, aborigines and mixed tribes, and consumption also varies inversely with the proportion of Muhammadans in the population. Gayā is a Hindī-speaking district; a large portion of the inhabitants are of aboriginal descent, and the number of Musalmāns is small. It is not surprising therefore that the natives of the district are on the whole hard drinkers, over six-sevenths of the whole excise income being derived from the country spirit prepared by distillation from the flower of the *mahuā*-tree (*Bassia latifolia*) and molasses, and from the fermented palm juice called *tāri*. The consumption of the latter is indeed greater than in any other Bengal district, and the gross receipts from this liquor and country spirit aggregate over Rs. 3,000 for every 10,000 of the population, as compared with the divisional average of Rs. 1,778. The manufacture and sale of country spirit are carried on under what is known as the dual system, *i.e.*, there is a central distillery at the headquarters station, which serves the town of Gayā and a certain area round it, and outstills for the supply of the rest of the district; the average consumption of outstill liquor is 98, and of distillery liquor 325 proof gallons per mille, the incidence of taxation per head of the population being annas 3-3 and 12-7 respectively. There are 19 shops for the sale of distillery liquor and 178 outstills selling outstill liquor, *i.e.*, one retail shop for the sale of country spirit to every 10,456 persons; and besides these, there are 2,295 shops licensed to sell *tāri* or one shop to every 897 persons. Imported liquors have found no favour with the mass of the population, both because they are unable to afford them and because they prefer the country spirit and *tāri* they have drunk for generations past; and the receipts from the license fees only amount to Rs. 1,476, as compared with nearly 5 lakhs derived from country spirit and Rs. 1,36,000 obtained from fermented *tari*. The receipts from hemp drugs are comparatively insignificant, amounting to only Rs. 72,260, and are less than in any other Bihār district. Of this sum, over Rs. 63,000 is obtained from the duty and license fees on *gānja*, *i.e.*, the

dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant (*Cannabis sativa*), and the resinous exudation on them. Less than Rs. 10,000 is obtained from the consumption of opium; and though the use of *bhāng*, *i.e.*, the dried leaves of the hemp plant, is more common than in any other Bengal district, the income derived from it is under Rs. 9,000.

Cesses.

The road and public works cesses are, as usual, levied at the maximum rate of one anna in the rupee, and the current demand in 1904-05 was Rs. 5,43,481, the greater part of which (Rs. 5,16,614) was payable by 17,492 revenue-paying estates, while the remainder was payable by 307 revenue-free estates, 6,073 rent-free lands and 15 mines and railways; the total collection of both current and arrear demand was Rs. 5,60,940. The number of tenures assessed to cesses was 9,699, while the number of recorded shareholders of estates and of tenures was 68,219 and 33,035 respectively. A revaluation of the entire district was undertaken in 1901 and was completed in two batches. The revised assessment in the first batch took effect from the 1st April 1903, and that in the second batch from the 1st April 1904. The operations cost Rs. 17,768, and the increase of the cess due to this revaluation was Rs. 53,000.

Stamps.

The revenue from stamps ranks next in importance as a source of income to that derived from cesses. During the ten years ending in 1904-05 it rose from Rs. 2,66,000 (1894-95) to Rs. 3,71,000, the increase being mainly due to the growing demand for judicial stamps which brought in Rs. 2,89,000, as compared with Rs. 1,97,000, ten years previously. The increase in their sale has been steadily progressive, and has presumably been caused by the growth of litigation, as the proceeds from the sale of court-fee stamps alone have grown by over Rs. 85,000 and now amount to Rs. 2,64,000. The revenue derived from non-judicial stamps has stood practically still during the same period, and has risen only from Rs. 69,000 to Rs. 82,000.

Income-tax.

From the Statistical Appendix it will be observed that in 1901-02 the income-tax yielded altogether Rs. 77,211, paid by 2,471 assessees, of whom 1,622 paying Rs. 18,243 had incomes of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. At that time the minimum income assessable was Rs. 500, but this was raised in 1903 to Rs. 1,000 per annum; and the number of assessees consequently fell in

1903-04 to 1,015 and the net collections to Rs. 76,067. In 1904-05 the amount of the tax increased to Rs. 82,070 paid by 1,078 assessees, a sum larger than in any of the districts of the Patna Division except Patna (Rs. 84,006). Of the assessees, 429 are inhabitants of Gayā town, and they pay over half the total amount, but the incidence of taxation is only three-fifths of an anna per head. The realizations are chiefly on account of grain and money-lending, the renting of houses, and trade.

Registration.

There are six offices for the registration of assurances under Act III of 1877, viz., Gayā, Aurangābād, Jahānābād, Nawāda, Sherghāti and Tekāri. At the headquarters station the Special Sub-Registrar deals, as usual, with the documents presented there, and assists the District Magistrate, who is *ex-officio* Registrar, in supervising the proceedings of the Rural Sub-Registrars who are in charge of the other registration offices. The marginal statement shows the number of documents registered and the receipts and expenditure at each office in 1904. The number of registrations has increased but little since 1894, when 7,726 documents were registered. It is in fact, far less than in any other Bihār district, the reason apparently being that the prevalence of the *bhāoli* system results in a paucity of formal transactions in the transfer and leasing of holdings.

Name.	Documents registered.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
		Rs.	Rs.
Gayā ...	3,658	19,282	4,360
Aurangābād	1,302	2,901	1,055
Jahānābād...	1,288	3,506	1,140
Nawāda ...	866	2,448	830
Sherghāti ...	391	1,341	610
Tekāri ...	967	1,830	868
Total ...	8,472	31,308	8,863

Administration of Justice.

Civil Justice.

The judicial staff entertained for the purposes of civil justice consists of the District Judge, two Sub-Judges and four Munsifs; all of these officers are stationed at the headquarters station, except one Munsif who holds his court at Aurangābād and has a separate jurisdiction. Statistics of the civil work will be found in the Statistical Appendix, and it will be sufficient to state that the classes of cases most common in the district are suits for the partition of revenue-paying estates, suits involving questions of easements regarding the irrigation of land, and rent suits relating to land held under the *bhāoli* system of cultivation.

Criminal Justice.

Criminal justice is administered by the District and Sessions Judge, the District Magistrate and the various Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates at the headquarters and subdivisional stations. The sanctioned staff at Gayā consists, in addition to the District Magistrate, of four Deputy Magistrates of the first class and one Deputy Magistrate of the second or third class. Besides these officers, an Assistant Magistrate and a Sub-Deputy Magistrate exercising second or third class powers are sometimes posted to the headquarters station and a special Magistrate is authorized, under section 14 of the Criminal Procedure Code, to try cases connected with breaches of the Irrigation laws. The Subdivisional Officers at Aurangābād, Jahānābād and Nawādā are almost invariably officers vested with first-class powers, and they are sometimes assisted by Sub-Deputy Magistrates of the second class. There are also Benches of Honorary Magistrates at Gayā (27 members), Aurangābād (6 members), Dāūdnagar (5 members), Jahānābād (9 members), Nawāda (7 members) and Tekāri (6 members), all of which exercise second-class powers, except those at Jahānābād and Tekāri, which have third-class powers only. In all there are 60 Honorary Magistrates, of whom six are authorized to sit singly. Statistics showing the work of the criminal courts will be found in the Statistical Appendix.

Crime.

Gayā was formerly notorious for the prevalence of crime, specially in the southern portion included in Rāmgarh. Here we are told,* the destruction of many old forts had to be "recommended by the Magistrate at an early period of the British domination, as they afforded protection to the refractory zamindars and hordes of irregular banditti. Theft is common throughout Rāmgarh, but murder more prevalent among a particular class, which are the slaves possessed by persons inhabiting the mountainous and inaccessible interior, and of savage and ferocious habits. When petty disputes occur, these slaves are compelled by their masters to perpetuate any enormity, and are more especially employed for the purposes of assassination. Any hesitation or repugnance on the part of the slave is attended with immediate death, which is equally his fate should he fail in the attempt. On the other hand, if he succeed, he is sought out by the officers of Government and executed as a murderer.

* Description of Hindostan, by Walter Hamilton, 1820.

The usual police have hitherto been unable to seize the cowardly instigator, and if recourse be had to a military force, he retires into the jungle. On the occurrence of such an event, the whole country is thrown into confusion and rebellion, during which many unoffending persons lose their lives; and the troops, after many ineffectual efforts to execute the Magistrate's orders, return to their stations, worn out with fatigue, and their numbers thinned by the pestilential atmosphere of the jungles."

Dacoities were extremely common, the gangs of dacoits being sometimes led by zamīndārs; highway robberies were even more frequent, and the generally unruly state of this tract finally made it necessary to appoint a special Joint-Magistrate at Sherghāti in order to cope more effectually with the elements of disorder. The north of the district was more settled, but even here there was little real security of person and property. In 1789 a gang of 200 robbers,* armed with swords, spears and bows, were able to make a raid into the town of Gayā itself; and having stationed guards to prevent the communication of intelligence to the European Magistrate, they surrounded and plundered the houses of two bankers, and after murdering upwards of 20 persons made off with their booty. Even at a later period, it is stated:†—"The number of crimes originating in the Bahar district, of which Gaya is the capital, may in great measure be attributed to the vast crowd of pious and superstitious pilgrims. The wealth these persons possess generally consists of money, jewels and other articles, which excite the cupidity of the unprincipled, while the defenceless position of the greater number of these stragglers exhibits it to them as a prey of easy acquisition."

This state of affairs has now passed away; and though dacoities are still sometimes committed, the most general offences are ordinary housebreaking and cattle theft, and riots caused by disputes about irrigation. Here, as elsewhere in Bihār, housebreaking is one of the commonest and easiest forms of crime. The soft mud walls of the houses, the weary sleep of the inmates, the negligence (or often the acquiescence) of the *chaukīdārs* combine with the adroitness of the burglar to render his trade

* Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District, by Wilton Oldham, 1876.
† Description of Hindostan, by Walter Hamilton, 1820.

easy and his arrest a rare occurrence. Further, the property stolen generally consists of brass utensils, trumpery ornaments, clothing, cash, or grain; and when the same pattern prevails throughout the district, the identification of the property is as difficult as the concealment of it is easy. Cattle-lifting is another common form of crime, practised chiefly by Goālās, and this district has long been notorious for its prevalence; it is more frequent than would appear from the statistics of convictions, both because of the difficulty of tracing the offenders, who remove the stolen cattle to great distances, and also because it is usual for the thieves to restore them for a consideration. Cattle-theft is in fact recognized by the people as part of an organized system of levying blackmail (called in this case *panhā*); they frequently know to whom to apply, and hence a considerable portion of the cases which actually occur are not reported. Disputes about land and irrigation are a fruitful source of offences against the public tranquillity; and violent breaches of the peace are common when the crops are on the ground or the reservoirs are full of water. Two known cases of *satī* occurred in the years 1901 and 1903 in the Aurangābād subdivision.

Criminal classes.

There are three classes in Gayā district who may be considered habitual criminals, viz., Goālās, Dosādhs, and aboriginal tribes, such as the Bhuiyās, Rajwārs and Musahars. Cattle-lifting and grain-thefts are the special crimes of the first class; lurking house-trespass and burglary of the second; and thefts of the third. The Goālās are continually engaged in that most exasperating form of theft which consists of petty thefts of crops from granaries and fields, and they seldom lose an opportunity of grazing their cattle on a neighbour's crops. They are even more notorious for cattle-lifting, which they practise with equal boldness and success. The Dosādhs are a more contemptible class than the Goālās. With the same predilection for crime, they want the daring, the insolence and the physique which make the Goālā such a dangerous ruffian. Their crimes, therefore, are of a meaner description, such as petty thefts and skulking burglary. The low aboriginal tribes have also an evil reputation as criminals, but in their case crime is due as much to poverty as to anything else. They indulge mostly in petty thefts or burglary, but they also frequently join in highway

robberies and dacoities. Here, however, they are generally merely the employés of the bolder spirits who organize these outrages and whose orders they obey for the sake of a petty share of the plunder.

The Bābhan class supply the leading spirits in a gang-robbery, riot or any other mischief. When the crops are on the ground, or the reservoirs full of water, the Bābhan's opportunity comes, and violent breaches of the peace occur in twenty villages at once. Besides this taste for rioting, they are remarkable for their litigiousness, and are ever ready to contest to the last halfpenny a neighbour's claim, or seize upon a poorer man's right. Their crookedness of mind has passed into a proverb, "*Bābhan bahut sidhā ho, to hasuā ke aisā*," *i.e.*, "The straightest Bābhan is as crooked as a sickle."

Police.

For police purposes, the district of Gayā is divided into 14 police circles (thānas) :—viz., (1) Gayā Town or Kotwāli, (2) Gayā Mofussil, (3) Atrī, (4) Tekāri, (5) Bārāchatti and (6) Sherghāti in the headquarters subdivision; (7) Nawāda, (8) Rajauli and (9) Pakribarāwān in the Nawāda subdivision; (10) Jahānābād, and (11) Arwal in the Jahānābād subdivision; (12) Dāūdnagar, (13) Nabīnagar, and (14) Aurangābād in the Aurangābād subdivision. Subordinate to the thānas are 22 out-posts and beat-houses, of which a list will be found in the Statistical Appendix; and there are therefore 36 centres in all for the investigation of crime. The force engaged in the prevention and detection of crime consisted in 1904 of the District Superintendent of Police, an Assistant District Superintendent of Police, 6 Inspectors, 49 Sub-Inspectors, 56 head-constables and 659 constables; and the rural force for the watch and ward of villages in the interior had a strength of 304 *dafadārs* and 4,119 *chaukīdārs*. The cost of the regular force was nearly Rs. 1,45,000, and there was one policeman to every 9½ square miles and to every 4,153 persons, as compared with the average of 9½ square miles and 5,386 persons for the whole of Bihār. In addition to the rural and regular police, there is a small force of town police employed in the municipalities under head-constables drawn from the regular force.

Jails.

Besides the three subsidiary jails at the headquarters station in each of the three subdivisions of Aurangābād, Jahānābād and

Nawāda, there is a District Jail at Gaya. Statistics will be found in the Statistical Appendix. The subsidiary jails at Aurangābād, Jahānābād and Nawāda are merely lock-ups, in which prisoners sentenced to imprisonment for a fortnight or less are confined; in 1904 the daily average of prisoners was only 13, 7 and 9 respectively. In the Gayā Jail, on the average, 422 prisoners were confined daily in 1904, and the death-rate was extraordinarily low, being only 2·5 per mille of its average strength, a smaller percentage than in any other jail in the Province. Accommodation is provided for 542 prisoners; there are cells for 16 male convicts and 5 Europeans; the hospital holds 33 patients; and there are barracks with separate sleeping accommodation for 14 juvenile convicts, and without separate sleeping accommodation for 6 civil prisoners, 22 under trial prisoners, 15 female convicts and 431 male convicts. In the subsidiary jails the convicts are employed in oil-pressing, wheat-grinding and the manufacture of *sābe* grass string. The industries carried on in the district jail are oil-pressing, breaking of stone for road metal, weaving of carpets and *newār*, and the manufacture of bamboo-baskets, *sābe* grass string and mats, jute twine, cotton string and money-bags for the Government treasuries.

CHAPTER XVII.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Outside municipal areas, local affairs are managed by the District Board which has jurisdiction over the whole district, and by the Local Boards which have been constituted for each of the outlying subdivisions. The District Board is responsible for the maintenance of roads, bridges and roadside rest-houses, and has the general superintendence of primary and middle schools. It is also entrusted with the management of pounds and public ferries, the control over dispensaries, the provision of a proper water-supply and village sanitation. To the Local Boards, which work in subordination to it, have been delegated the administration of small sums allotted for the construction and repair of village roads and the discharge of certain functions which will be mentioned later.

District Board.

The District Board was established in the year 1887, and consists of 21 members. The District Magistrate is an *ex officio* member of the Board and is invariably its Chairman; there are 4 other *ex officio* members, 7 members are nominated by Government, and 9 are elected. The Statistical Appendix shows, for the 10 years 1892-93 to 1901-02, the principal sources from which this body derives its income, and the objects on which it is spent; and it will suffice here to say that its average annual income during this period was Rs. 2,84,000, of which Rs. 2,07,000 were derived from Provincial rates, and the average expenditure was Rs. 2,87,000, of which nearly two lakhs were spent on civil works, Rs. 27,000 on education, and Rs. 20,000 on medical relief. In 1904-05 the Board had an opening balance of Rs. 1,16,141, and its income was Rs. 3,34,600, or annas 3-2 per head of the population; the expenditure in the same year was Rs. 2,78,500. Here, as elsewhere, the Provincial rates form the chief source of income,

bringing in over 2½ lakhs of rupees. The incidence of taxation is annas 2-1 per head of the population, a figure higher than in any other district of the Patna Division, except Patna (annas 2-5) and Shāhābād (annas 3-6).

By far the largest portion of the income of the District Board is spent on civil works, *i.e.*, the extension and maintenance of communications, the upkeep of staging bungalows, the construction of buildings and the provision of a proper water-supply. Altogether Rs. 1,72,000 were expended on these works in 1904-05, over two-thirds of this sum being spent on the construction, improvement, and repairs of roads. The Board maintains altogether 168 miles of metalled and 715 miles of unmetalled roads, besides 628 miles of village roads, the cost per mile being Rs. 571, Rs. 31 and Rs. 10-4 respectively. The immediate administration of the roads is vested in the District Engineer, who is also responsible for the management and repair of 23 inspection houses and 2 dâk bungalows kept up by the Board. That body also controls 40 ferries and 73 pounds; the latter are generally leased out, and the average income derived from them was Rs. 10,700 during the 16 years ending in 1903-04.

After civil works, education constitutes the heaviest charge upon the District Board, the amount expended upon it being over Rs. 45,000 in 1904-05. It maintains 5 middle schools, and aids six others, besides 43 upper primary and 684 lower primary schools, and, for the supervision of education, it employs an inspecting staff of 5 Sub-Inspectors and 14 Inspecting Pandits. Besides this, it awards a scholarship tenable at the Bihār School of Engineering, and pays the stipend of a student at the Bengal Veterinary College at Belgāchia. For the relief of sickness, it maintains two dispensaries and aids ten others, and it has recently taken in hand the construction of dispensary buildings at Rafiganj and Nabīnagar. The proportion of its available income, *i.e.*, of the income derived from sources other than road cess, which is spent on hospitals and dispensaries is particularly high; and in the five years 1898-99 to 1902-03 the percentage (18·11) thus expended was higher than in any other Bengal district, except Backergunge (20·57) and Patna (18·12). The sanitary work done by the Board is of a somewhat varied character. It includes preventive measures against plague, cholera and other epidemic

diseases, sanitary arrangements at fairs and *melās*, the construction, repair and improvement of wells, and experiments in village sanitation, such as the clearance of jungle, the excavation of roadside drains, and the filling up of hollows containing stagnant water. Altogether 9·3 per cent. of its ordinary income was expended on medical relief and sanitation in 1904-05.

LOCAL BOARDS.

In subordination to the District Board are the Local Boards of Nawāda, Jahānābād and Aurangābād, the jurisdiction of each corresponding with that of the subdivisional charge of the same name. There was formerly a Local Board for the headquarters subdivision, but as it did no useful work, it was abolished a few years ago. The system of election which obtains in most of the districts in Bengal has not been introduced, and the members are appointed by Government, the Subdivisional Magistrates holding the office of Chairman. These bodies were established at the same time as the District Board, and receive annual allotments from its funds; the functions with which they are entrusted being the maintenance of village roads, the supervision of some local dispensaries, the control of a certain number of pounds, and certain other minor works such as village sanitation and the upkeep of wells.

MUNICIPALITIES.

There are three municipalities in this district, viz., Gayā, Tekāri and Dāūdnagar. The number of rate-payers is 15,757 out of a total population of 87,469, the ratio being 18 per cent. as compared with the Divisional average of 17·7 per cent. Taxation takes the form in the two municipalities first named of a rate on holdings, and in Dāūdnagar of a tax on persons residing in municipal areas according to their circumstances and property; besides this, there is a latrine-tax in Gayā. The incidence of taxation varies between Re. 1-2-10 in Gayā and 5 annas at Dāūdnagar, the former being, next to Muzaffarpur, the most heavily-taxed and the latter the most lightly-taxed municipality in the Division, the average taxation in which is 12 annas 7 pies per head. Statistics of the annual income and expenditure of each municipality during the 10 years 1892-93 to 1901-02 will be found in the Statistical Appendix.

GAYA.

The Gaya Municipality, which was constituted in 1865, is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 25 members, of whom 3 are *ex officio* members, 16 are elected and 6 are nominated.

The area within municipal limits is 8 square miles, and is divided into 10 wards; the number of rate-payers is 13,285 or 18·6 per cent. of the population. The average annual income for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 87,800, and the expenditure Rs. 82,600. In 1904-05, they were Rs. 1,16,388 and Rs. 1,01,169, respectively, the incidence of taxation per head of the population being Re. 1-2-10. The main heads of income are a tax on holdings at 7½ per cent. of their annual value, which yielded Rs. 50,200 in 1904-05, a conservancy rate (Rs. 23,500), and a tax on animals and vehicles (Rs. 8,850). The principal items of expenditure are conservancy, medical relief and public works, which accounted, respectively, for 46·9, 15·1 and 10·8 per cent. of the expenditure.

The two great needs of the municipality are an effective system of drainage and a filtered water-supply, but at present its finances are insufficient to carry out such expensive schemes. The present drainage system comprises 18 miles of masonry, cement or brick drains, and 12 miles of other drains, nearly all the outlets leading into the Phalgu river; the natural drainage of the town is principally from south to north, but in a few cases the fall is from east to west. In three wards the night-soil is removed to a trenching-ground near the Rāmsilā Hill in iron trucks by a steam-tramway, which was procured from England at a cost of Rs. 43,450, and which costs over Rs. 12,000 a year to maintain. The old town of Gayā has a complete underground sewerage system linked up with the houses along the course of the drains. It is plentifully supplied with man-holes, and as this part of the town is on high ground, the gradients are good. The drains are free from objection during the rains, when the sewers are thoroughly flushed but, during the dry months of the year, the contents stagnate a great deal and give rise to offensive odours. The new part of the town has a system of surface drainage only, and many of the drains have an inadequate fall and are badly designed; some of them in the crowded portions of the towns are indeed little less than a succession of cess-pools filled with black festering liquid. The drainage of the town is thus still far from satisfactory, though the municipality are doing and have done much during the last few years to improve the present state of affairs; large sums have been spent from the

Lodging-House Fund on the construction of new drains and the improvement of existing ones, the town has been surveyed and levels have been taken for an improved drainage scheme. The resources of the municipality have, however, been severely strained by repeated visitations of plague, and the want of funds at present prevents the execution of this most necessary improvement.

The same difficulty stands in the way of a pure water-supply. The present sources of supply are the river Phalgu and the wells scattered about the town, but the Phalgu dries up in the hot weather, and at the same time the wells also contain insufficient water for the requirements of the large number of inhabitants. To remedy this state of affairs, a scheme has been proposed for pumping water from the Phalgu to filtering tanks on a hill in the old town and thence distributing it. Endeavours were made to raise a sufficient sum from donations to enable the municipality to carry out the scheme with the additional aid of a loan; but adequate support was not forthcoming and the scheme is in abeyance. In other respects, the requirements of the citizens are well provided for, and there is a very extensive network of roads, streets and lanes, the metalled roads alone having a total length of 43 miles.

Tekāri.

The Tekāri Municipality was constituted in 1885, and is administered by a Municipal Board of 12 Commissioners, of whom 3 are *ex officio* members and 9 are nominated. The area within municipal limits is a little over a square mile, and is divided into 9 wards. There are in all 1,149 tax-payers, or 17·9 per cent. of the population. In 1904-05, the total income was Rs. 7,530, of which Rs. 5,660 were realized from the tax on houses and lands, the incidence of taxation being annas 15-9 per head. The expenditure was Rs. 6,385, of which more than a third was spent on conservancy. The town contains a municipal market, and there is a good system of drainage well planned and arranged. The total length of the drains is already over 7 miles, of which 2 miles have masonry drains, and the efficient drainage of the whole area appears to be only a question of time.

Dāūdnagar.

The municipality of Dāūdnagar was constituted in 1885, and has a Municipal Board consisting of 13 members, of whom